



EASTERN WORLD

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Temple Guardian at a Japanese Shinto Shrine
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INDIA AND KASHMIR

THE agreement between the Prime Ministers of India and Kashmir, while no doubt clarifying the position between Mr. Nehru and Sheikh Abdullah, has by no means clarified the issue from the international angle. Sheikh Abdullah's recent statements, which contained a remarkable spirit of independence, had aroused fears in New Delhi that the Kashmiri leader might try to fortify himself in a position which would make Kashmir independent of both India and Pakistan. India reacted quickly, and the new agreement constitutes a compromise which shows more than anything else the importance of Kashmir to the Indian Prime Minister. India concedes Kashmir a special position in the Indian Union, with the right to fly her own flag alongside the Indian National Flag (a privilege which has only recently been denied to Mysore), and with her own elected Head, the latter decision thus creating two heads of state in the Indian Union. The powers of Delhi are, in effect, limited to defence, external relations and communications, as far as Kashmir is concerned.

The importance of the agreement, however, lies in its international implications. At a time when Dr. Frank Graham, the United Nations mediator, has just proposed the discussion of the Kashmir dispute on Cabinet level, and this matter is still in the hands of the United Nations, it appears that Mr. Nehru wishes to ignore any other possible solution and to present the world with this *fait accompli*. This situation will be difficult for the United Nations to accept with good grace. It was understood that the Indian Prime Minister had always insisted that the ultimate fate of Kashmir would have to be decided by a "free popular vote." So far, he has constantly repudiated all suggestions which would have led to such a plebiscite, and ominous signs of his interpretation of a "free popular vote" were contained in his statement of 26th June in the House of the People. He said then that the Indian Government had made it clear that it was for the people of Jammu and Kashmir to decide their future, but that this did not concern accession.

Where then does the "free popular vote" come in and what exactly would the people of Kashmir have to decide? While India has always insisted that the instrument of accession, signed by Maharajah Hari Singh in October, 1947 was of a binding nature, it was nevertheless understood that India, in consequence of Pakistan's refusal to recognise this accession, would yield to the result of a plebiscite under United Nations auspices. However, in the speech quoted above, Mr. Nehru said "there is no question of our submitting to any direction which we

consider wrong." Now the Indian Prime Minister has gone even a step further, and it seems that he does not propose to await any United Nations proposals, but that he wishes to make sure of Kashmir by treating the matter as a purely bilateral affair. Whether this contributes towards the peaceful development of the Indian sub-continent remains to be seen.

BACTERIOLOGICAL WARFARE

ONE of the topics most heatedly discussed in the East during the last few months has been the question as to whether Chinese allegation that the United Nations troops in Korea were using bacteriological warfare is based on truth.

With hurt indignation this accusation has been repudiated by the West, and visitors to China (where this subject seems to be the linch-pin of political propaganda at the moment) who have been influenced by the "proofs" which have been given them of the use of this particular form of warfare, have been violently abused for their naivete or calculated mischief in even believing such a thing. The proof given by the Chinese and North Koreans is by no means conclusive, and it has been pointed out that epidemics brought about by low hygienic standards or by the general misery that accompanies wars, may have caused effects very similar to those caused by bacteriological warfare.

We cannot here participate in the discussion as to whether microbe weapons have been used in Korea or not. But the really staggering thing is that this question should have aroused so much excitement. To our minds, it is difficult to understand why bacteriological warfare should be rejected with greater fury than that accorded to the most vicious kinds of missiles, atom bombs, napalm bombs, flamethrowers, torpedoes and so on. There is nothing "humane" about any weapon, and the mere conception of war—the wilful destruction of living beings—includes the sanction of any method of annihilation. That the Chinese or the North Koreans are trying to utilise a point for their own political purposes—which incidentally is a sure sign of weakness—is understandable. And that they have been successful is proved by the excitement with which these allegations have been refuted.

It is a fact that not only the West, but also the East, has been experimenting with bacteriological warfare. And we have not heard one single reason why any weapon in the experimental stage should not be tried out in a theatre of war.

The whole question seems illogical to us. The only possible explanation for the excitement caused by this manoeuvre of political warfare so skillfully used by Peking amongst the masses of Asia, might be the resentment of Asians that Asian people are again used as guinea pigs, as they were used at Hiroshima.

WESTMINSTER AND THE EAST

By Harold Davies, M.P.

TEMPERS are a little frayed in this Mother of Parliaments. Late sittings, economic alerts and alarms together with the sombre international situation in Asia and Europe have all served to make members unusually irritable. The Recess, too may be broken by a re-call, and Mr. Churchill was told to expect draconic economic measures in an effort to solve our Balance of Payments problem. Britain is confronted now with a series of countries facing deficits in their balances of payment and who also are cutting their imports. Hopes bob up and down like a moorhen on a stormy pond, as one minute we have an official announcement that we are heading for recovery and the next for disaster.

We can look forward to a heated two-day Debate on the economic crisis before the Recess. Members are asking how Britain can recover if American restrictions of East-West trade and trade with China are maintained. Japanese competition can only be eased by opening China. Mr. Okezaki, Japan's Foreign Minister has said that Japan is now entering into normal diplomatic relationships with other countries except the Communist bloc. Now that we have a Japanese Ambassador at the Court of St. James some of us here believe that negotiations should take place about the direction of Japan's trade. But as *The Bunker* indicated in its July number the Ministry of International Trade and Industry has warned that Japan's exports are liable to have a sharp fall and increased reliance will in future be placed on shipping and shipbuilding. According to that journal American banking concerns are making available some of the funds needed for shipbuilding. M.P.s from the shipbuilding areas have already complained about loss of contracts to Japan and they see the days of ruthless competition returning.

I moved over to the House of Lords to hear Lord Ammon asking whether any legal action could be taken against Dr. Hewlett Johnson, Dean of Canterbury. In the Commons, Mr. Ian Harvey, Major Legge-Bourke, and Mr. Donald Scott are movers of a motion supported by some three dozen other Conservatives praying that the letters patent granted to the Dean in 1931 be revoked by Her Majesty the Queen. This Motion is not likely to come up for debate in the Commons. Lord Ammon hesitated before he placed the question on the Order Paper in the Upper House but he believed that the point had been reached when liberty had developed into licence.

Lord Ammon alleged that the whole country had been stirred by the Dean's accusation that U.N. troops were using germ warfare in Korea. The Archbishop of Canterbury believed that nothing could convince the people on the Continent and in the East that the Dean does not

speak for the Archbishop and the Church. The Archbishop said, "There is no charge against the Dean because he holds certain political and sociological views. As a citizen he is fully entitled to hold these, however mistaken they may be." The Archbishop in his summing-up said: "I trust that the Church and State may agree in this conclusion and that we may help each other by sharing this liability between us, believing it is still a small price to pay in order to keep supreme and unblurred our belief in freedom of speech as a vital concern to Church and land." This debate kept their Lordships until late, nevertheless it was I think, on the whole, testimony to the fact that Britain still refuses to conduct witch-hunts about Korea, germ warfare or the "Red Dean."

Fenner Brockway, the indefatigable Labour member for Slough, still urges the Opposition to press assiduously for India to act as mediator in the Korean conflict. He believes, and rightly, that Nehru might still be able to help solve the problem. Nehru has said:

"I claim that in so far as Asian questions are concerned we are in a better position to throw light on them, sometimes to understand others or to convince others, than some countries of the Western World, whose methods, if I may say so with all humility lack all subtlety. They are extraordinarily lacking in any approach to the mind or heart and therefore, they fail."

During the Colonial Debate the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Mr. Lyttelton, devoted a major portion of his speech to Malaya. He regarded the Malayan problem as the most urgent and obdurate in the Colonial Territories. He believed that confidence is mounting in Malaya and that the surrender of the bandits has increased. With regard to self-government the Minister felt that it must be built up, but he added: "I would give as my considered opinion that were we to grant full self-government, so to speak as an instrument, to Malaya tomorrow the country would in six months be plunged into such racial strife, conflict and confusion as we have not yet seen."

Little was said about the economic problems of Malaya although the Minister expressed a desire to press the Americans to agree that synthetic rubber production should not be artificially stimulated. He wanted a sensible replanting policy to increase the productivity of trees. Undoubtedly in the Economic Debate next week the problem of dollar prices for tin and rubber will be brought up by members. To some of us the Minister seemed too optimistic about Malaya's economic prospects but at the end of a long speech he had little time to develop his theme.

ASIA IN WASHINGTON

By David C. Williams (Washington)

THE Republican Party seems to be determined to make Asia, and particularly China, a top issue in the coming American Presidential campaign. In his "keynote" speech at the Chicago convention of the Party, General MacArthur dedicated his most eloquent passages to a denunciation of the Truman Administration's policies in the Far East. The Republican party platform sounds the same note. Even General Eisenhower, apparently seeking to curry favour with his new-found associates, refers to the "tragedy" of China.

This preaching of a bold policy in Asia comes oddly from a party which has been traditionally isolationist, and in which isolationism is still very strong. Still more oddly, the China cry is raised most shrilly precisely by those Republicans, such as Taft, who are the most notorious isolationists. This hybrid kind of politics has fastened on its proponents the well-chosen label "Asialationist."

The sentimental attraction of China for the Republicans is an important fact of American political life. It may change the history of the world if they win the November election. Even if the Democratic Party retains power, it will be subject to steady pressure in framing its China policy, a pressure which already has had its effect.

Why are people who are so cautious about European commitments so ready to undertake commitments of incalculable gravity so far away as China? To some extent the Republicans reflect popular American attitudes towards China. American interest in Asia has always been concentrated on China, in something of the same way that British interest was directed to India. It is to China that most missionaries have gone, and such prominent China-firsters as Henry Luce, publisher of *Time* and *Life*, Congressman John Vorys, Republican member of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, and Congressman Walter Judd, most effective spokesman for Chiang Kai-shek in Congress, come from a missionary background.

The attachment for China has flourished in spite of the facts of economic and political self-interest. American investment in Japan was many times that in China—yet, as George Kennan has recently pointed out, the United States has generally supported China and opposed Japan. In the framing of the structure of the post-war world, Roosevelt insisted on a place for China far beyond her ability to fill. Churchill has written more than once of the over-assessment of China which he encountered whenever he visited Washington.

Americans, in fact, thought of themselves as having a special mission to help China take her place in the world as a great democratic, Christian, free-enterprise power. China has indeed become a great power, but in a very different fashion. In much of American feeling about China, there is the bewildered indignation of a rejected elder and teacher.

The accident of history, however, has identified the Republican Party particularly with China. A Republican Secretary of State announced the "Open Door" policy, committing the United States to resist the domination of China by any one outside power. President Theodore Roosevelt intervened effectively in the Russo-Japanese War. Stimson, as Hoover's Secretary of State, took a leading part in the Manchurian question.

The three Democratic Presidents of this century, Wilson, Franklin D. Roosevelt, and Truman, were forced by events to commit American military power to the mainland of Europe. Throughout World War II, Roosevelt had to resist pressure for the division of the major part of America's power to Asia, the war with Japan being consistently more "popular" than the war with Hitler Germany. Truman again has had to defend his "Europe first" policy against steady attack. The Democrats have been traditionally "Europeans" just as the Republicans are traditionally "Asians."

The Republicans, however, also favour low taxes and a low Federal budget. They reconcile this attitude with their China policy by an act of blind faith. For many years they have talked as if a few million American dollars, or at the most a detachment of U.S. marines, could change the course of events in China. China, they have insisted, is a place where victory could be had the way they wanted it—cheaply. Many of them have insisted that it could be had without the loss of a single American "boy," by placing American arms in the hands of the right sort of Chinese and letting them fight the battles.

One would have thought that two years of war in Korea would have put an end to the notion that victory in Asia can be had at a bargain price. Yet the statement was made by General MacArthur again in his "keynote" speech, and wildly applauded by the Republican delegates. Like his political associate Senator Taft, MacArthur thinks that the United States can roll back the tide of Communism in Asia and at the same time cut taxes and government expenditures. The United States must make its power felt more strongly in the world, Taft and MacArthur say, but it must

reduce the strain on its own economy. This has been aptly described as the policy of "all out—half way."

President Truman, as he takes up the cudgels for the Democratic candidate for the White House, will do as he has done before. He will picture the Democratic Party as the responsible party, seeking to curb the expansion of Communism without incurring the risk of endless war on the mainland of China. Again and again, he will pin the adjective "reckless" to the Republican Party. This is what he did in defending his dismissal of MacArthur last year against the initial outburst of public indignation. It was effective then, and it may be effective again in the coming campaign.

There is a time bomb, however, steadily ticking away and threatening, if it explodes, to blast the Democrats out

of power. That is the Korean truce negotiation. If it succeeds, the Democrats can easily rout MacArthur and his friends. If it fails, or even if it drags on through the campaign, MacArthur's words will find an increasing number of listeners. "It is fatal," he said at Chicago as he has said often before, "to enter any war without the will to win it." The policy of limited war has been a difficult one for Truman to sell to the American people. It will become increasingly difficult as the truce talks drag on, and impossible if they collapse.

Stalin and Mao Tse-tung may play a decisive role in the American election. If they are cautious, they can help the Democrats to win. If they are reckless, the Republicans will win, with consequences which, even under Eisenhower, can be grave for America and her allies.

The Foreign Policy of India and Pakistan

By Lord Birdwood

WHEN on 15 August, 1947, two new self-governing states, India and Pakistan, joined the family of the British Commonwealth as equal partners, the world thought of the event as the consummation of an association with Great Britain which had covered 150 years. It was rightly hailed as the greatest experiment in progress to full nationhood in history and a matter for mutual pride within both Britain and the great sub-continent. The subsequent focus of attention was confined to such matters as the relations of Pakistan with India, the problem of Kashmir and the structure of the new Indian constitution. Less apparent was the fact that policy over a very large area of the globe from North Africa to the Far East had overnight received a completely fresh orientation. To take but one example, a trail of events which resulted in the abandonment of the Persian oilfields and a refinery worth £300 million may in no small measure have derived from the fact that troops from India were no longer available to protect our interests in Khuzistan. To say this is in no way to support or refute a particular policy. It is merely to state a fact: and it is to examine some of the more obvious facts in this new direction of international affairs that I devote this brief comment.

We would perhaps feel happier over the future if we could feel that the emergence of India and Pakistan had resulted in cohesion and consistency in a new purpose. But those conditions which were apparent in British-India onwards from the 1930s and which culminated in the birth of two nations, have lingered on to bequeath their legacy of divergent interests in the international field today. Inevitably Pakistan turned to the Middle East while India tended to be drawn towards South-East Asia and China. An Englishman might have been forgiven had he hoped

that in this way Britain's policy might receive more successful interpretation over a vast area through the medium of two members of the family of the Commonwealth than has hitherto been possible through the more normal and abrupt channels of direct negotiation. It is too soon to pass judgment. But it is at least certain that we are fully justified in regarding both India and Pakistan as cushioning influences of moderation for the promotion of harmony between East and West rather than as elements which strain further some occasional doubtful relationships.

Since we are here concerned mainly with the Far East, I will deal only briefly with the aspect nearer home. Pakistan's position is in a sense comparable to that of Britain. As a vital influence in the fate of Europe and as the focus of a great Empire and Commonwealth, Britain experiences some difficulty in reconciling loyalties which might be regarded as in conflict. In exactly the same way Pakistan feels a tug in one direction to Britain, and in another, to the world of Islam and the Middle East. The first is based on practical considerations of material advantage no less than on ties of sentiment and associations of the past. It would be unexpected, to put it mildly, if a country whose whole corporative life and administration derived from British thought and method, should decide suddenly to cut the links of so much friendship built up in the process. The second influence, towards Islam, is no less real for the fact that it is an emotional rather than a practical appeal. In recording this it should be borne in mind that Pakistan's problem in living up to the demands of a new loyalty is by no means simple. Sir Zafrullah Khan has frequently emphasised that his country does not seek the leadership of the Moslem world. If it comes it will be a case of greatness thrust upon her. Such develop-

ments as the advocacy of the cases of Libya and Tunisia should be placed no higher nor lower than that. But there are voices within Pakistan which would go far beyond the approach of logic. In March this year a convention in Karachi was summoned with the object of setting up "Anjuman-i-Shabal-Muslimeen" (Moslem People's Organization). It drew up an eight-point programme, the only purpose of which was to work for the creation of "Islamistan," not as a mere matter of cultural or religious cooperation, but as a practical and physical force: yet another "bloc," pledged to defend mutual interests against alleged attack. It is this kind of movement stretching beyond the counsels of wiser leadership that may prove an embarrassment in the future definition of Pakistan's foreign policy.

When we turn to India we find the pattern of development less definite. It should be appreciated that India's relationship with China derives not from admiration of achievements of Communism in a country which was ripe for any change, but from a sense of sharing with China a hard-won freedom from foreign domination. Pandit Nehru was a friend of General Chiang Kai-shek long before Mao Tse-tung swept into power. Indeed it is this motive amounting to an obsession concerning her role as protector of underdeveloped Asian peoples from alleged Western exploitation, which governs so much of India's negotiations with the outside world. The other motive at play is the perfectly natural desire to remain neutral in a world which daily divides more rigidly into two opposing camps.

Four months ago in Delhi, I sought out Mr. Panikkar, then Indian Ambassador in Peking, who at the time was on holiday. I had long regarded him as a key man in international affairs. One would have thought that the Indian approach to "colonialism" would have had much in common with Chinese communist doctrine in the same field of thought. These common sympathies could and would form the bridge by which Britain and her way of life might be effectively interpreted to China. The time had passed when we could hope that psychological warfare waged across the Iron Curtain in Europe would be effective in breaking down the barriers which divide the minds of men. Perhaps Peking was the backdoor to Moscow and India held the key? It was a conception worthy of the highest diplomacy and statesmanship and at the same time Mr. Panikkar was certainly the only diplomat with western associations who had ready access to Mao Tse-tung. The Indian Ambassador's comments on my wishful thinking were not quite what I had expected. His country was poor, he said. India could never throw her weight effectively into the scales so long as her policy could not be backed by economic and physical power. If she led Britain to believe that an Indian contribution of armies could in any way play its part in a third world war she would be leading Britain down the garden path.

It would be ten years before India's active assistance in war could be regarded as an asset rather than a liability. This was a new explanation of what has been described as "dynamic neutrality."

The desire to remain without commitment in the interests of the country is both natural and sensible. If foregoing the luxury of expensive armed forces can in any way contribute to improve the lot of millions who live near to subsistence level, the policy will have been justified. But there is sometimes a suspicion that independence of action and decision is based not so much on the logic of neutrality as on a desire to impress the world with the right and power to choose.

A feature of international affairs in the twentieth century has been the ability of countries, old in culture but young in politics, to influence international negotiation out of proportion to their economic or educational standards at home. Sir Benegal Rao and Sir Zafrellah Khan have both enhanced the reputation of their countries in a forum accustomed to the standard set by Sir Gladwyn Jebb. It is only right that these new and active intellects should be at the disposal of the United Nations. But it is as well to remember that the situation by which such men can command the greatest respect in argument within the Security Council is far removed from the day-to-day problems of either Pakistan or India. India's great dilemma is the encroachment of Communism, particularly in areas such as Travancore, where educational advance has tended to race ahead of the economic standard of life. Resistance, to which Nehru's Government is pledged, sooner or later must lead to stresses and strains in the relationship with China. With Chinese forces now on the borders of Nepal, that small stronghold of operatic feudalism may one day find itself the Trojan horse of Communist intentions in regard to India. It is for this reason that India has attempted the role of mediator in the internal affairs of Nepal. Such interference might normally not be justified. But the times are not normal. Nepal has been described as a country which has furnished some of the finest fighting troops in the world but which possesses the worst of armies! An Indian Military Mission now hopes to assist the Nepalese to a higher standard of efficiency.

Prophecy is a cheap way of attracting attention: and in conclusion I would only add that it would be but natural if fear of the spread of Communism, both in India and Pakistan should tend to keep those two countries in step with British foreign policy for years to come. The silken cords which Burke described as binding tighter than iron chains may be stretched. But the general tendency may well prove to be towards a closer cohesion rather than dispersion. This must be the hope of those who spent many years of unspectacular service in the sub-continent, in the days when the Communists were tolerated as rare intellectual freaks in a land politically dominated by the Indian National Congress.

*"Let those who may complain
that it was all on paper
remember that only on paper
has humanity yet achieved
glory, beauty, truth, knowledge,
virtue and abiding love."*

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AUSTRALIANS AND PEKING

By K. D. Gott (Melbourne)

THE departure in May of five Australians for Peking to take part in discussions for a proposed Pacific Peace Conference created a nation-wide sensation in Australia. They left with their mission as the main newspaper and radio news, and to the accompaniment of heated scenes in the Federal Parliament during which fourteen members crossed the floor and two members were suspended. Their fellow passengers on the airliner from Sydney were land, sea and air reinforcements for the Australian units in Korea.

The Australian Government headed by Mr. Menzies (Liberal Party) follows the example of the U.S.A. in withholding recognition of Mao Tse-tung's government. This together with the fact that Australian forces are engaged in the Korean war, contributes to the belief in some Australian circles that any citizen visiting the Chinese People's Republic is committing a variety of treason.

Hence there have been sporadic demands for action against W. G. Burchett, Australian correspondent in China and North Korea, and against four Australian trade union leaders who visited Peking for the last May Day celebrations.

These, however, have been minor matters compared to the affair of the five Australians who flew northwards recently.

The focus of attention for the press, parliament and public was Dr. John Burton. Until last year he was Australian High Commissioner in Ceylon, leaving his post to make a dramatic flight to Australia to unsuccessfully contest an electorate in the Labour interest. Prior to his Ceylon appointment he had been head of the Department of External Affairs during the time Dr. Evatt (now the Opposition Leader) had been Minister in charge of this department. Dr. Burton is at present an endorsed Labour candidate. Still in his thirties, it is generally agreed that a brilliant political career lies before him.

In announcing his departure for Peking Dr. Burton said he had accepted an invitation from prominent Chinese citizens among them Madame Sun Yat-sen, the President of Peking University, the Vice-President of the Academy of Science, the Chairman of the Chinese Institute of Foreign Affairs and the Vice-President of the Federation of Labour.

"Enquiries have led me to believe," he stated, "that the conference is a genuine attempt by leading Chinese citizens to break the stalemate in Korea and other affairs affecting Chinese relations with the West. In my opinion, the opportunities of such a conference should not be missed."

He promised that on his return he would report to a public meeting and he hoped that his report would include factual material on Korean armistice statements, conditions in China and in French Indo-China.

From Peking it was reported that a favourable response to the conference had been received from seventeen countries, some of them in Latin America. Delegations from India, Canada and America were among those attending the preliminary talks.

The first reaction to Dr. Burton's statement was a demand from the Labour Party Deputy-Leader (Mr. Calwell) for his resignation. "No person can honestly belong to the Labour Party and attend, what, after all, can only be a Communist-inspired, if not Communist-controlled conference to weaken the Western democracies in their struggle with the Communist world," he said. In Mr. Calwell's view all five Australian delegates were going behind "enemy lines."

Dr. Burton rejected the demand for his resignation and stated that in attending the meeting he was only "carrying out the principles and purpose of the Labour Party."

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One of these principles was cooperation with the South-East Asian countries for peace. Even if he discovered that the conference was a Communist propaganda stunt, that was all the more reason why the delegates should attend and find out all about it. They would expose it publicly on return.

If, on the other hand, the conference represented a sincere effort for peace, he was sure the people of Australia would support sending a larger delegation to a major conference later in the year.

In the ensuing Parliamentary debate the Government Whip (Mr. Gullett) attacked Dr. Burton as a "malicious, bad and evil influence" on Australia's foreign affairs. "His action now is embarrassing to the country and all true Australians . . . The conference can be helpful only to Communists, Russians and any enemies who seek to divide us."

Other Government members stressed the close relationship between Dr. Burton and Dr. Evatt (Opposition Leader) and claimed that the Government lacked power to stop delegates leaving for Peking.

In reply Dr. Evatt claimed that the Government were making political capital from Dr. Burton's association with the Labour Party and insisted that the Government could have stopped the delegates had it so desired. He stated:

"Does this conference, at this time, although China technically is at peace with this country, but is engaged in fighting with the United Nations, including this country, involve a security risk to this country?" he asked.

"On the face of it I would say yes."

At this juncture fourteen Government members crossed the floor to enable Dr. Evatt to continue his speech.

"If they think the answer to this question is 'Yes,' " he continued, "it is the Government's duty to prevent Australians from attending such a conference."

He insisted that there was ample Constitutional power for the Government to stop citizens leaving the country in peace time.

It is interesting to note that in the course of the heated discussion—during which two members were suspended—no reference was made to the action of the Australian Government in 1927 in withholding passports to four trade unionists who planned to attend a Pan Pacific Trade Union Conference in Canton in May of that year. The Commonwealth Government's powers have certainly not lessened since then.

Compared to Dr. Burton little publicity has been given to the other four delegates. They were Dr. S. Macindoe, chief research officer of the Plant Industry Division of the New South Wales Government and a specialist in wheat breeding; the Rev. G. R. van Eerde, superintendent of the Sydney Methodist Mission; Miss Ada Bromham, corresponding secretary of the Women's Christian Temperance Union; and Mr. Gietzelt, an ex-serviceman of World War II.

A statement issued on behalf of all five delegates to the effect that none were Communists was not challenged in any quarter during the entire controversy, though many newspapers painted them as "dupes" of the Chinese Communists.

Miss Bromham said she had been working for peace for the past forty years. The Rev. van Eerde regretted that Peking should have been chosen as the venue of the conference. "If I find that we are being taken for a ride I shall openly say so on my return to Australia," he announced.

The sound and the fury have died down, but the public standing of all five delegates is such that their reports have commanded a thoughtful hearing everywhere. The contrast between their reasoned and open-minded statements and the attacks of their opponents has not been wasted on the public.

There is growing opinion that peace in Asia and the Pacific, germ warfare, the treatment of prisoners and the Korean truce talks are matters of far too great importance to be used as political footballs by the parliamentarians. Some time before the Burton delegation left Australia, numbers of ministers of religion, doctors and scientists working in the biological field had reached the conclusion that on the published evidence there was at least a case to be investigated in regard to germ warfare. A similar awareness of problems to be solved is reflected in the growth of various movements for recognition of the Chinese People's Republic, for friendship with China, for peace in the Pacific, to oppose Japanese rearmament, and so on.

Instead of bread the public have been given, not a stone but rather the stale fish and rotten eggs of an election brawl. For Government and Opposition alike have concerned themselves with using the Burton visit as opportunities for recriminations against their opponents in pursuit of what is imagined to be party advantage.

Australians—particularly those who listen to the parliamentary broadcasts—are growing tired of this sparring. The Pacific is reputed to be a volcanic area and they feel that the side of a volcano is a singularly inappropriate place for clowns to perform.

A rearmed Japan has already shown signs of renewing its pre-war interest in New Guinea and the islands to the north of Australia. China, to many Australians, is seen as a traditional ally and bulwark against Japanese expansion. If the proposed Peking conference can do anything to improve relations with China and point the way to peace in the Pacific it will have support from large sections of Australian opinion, irrespective of the smears of politicians concerned only with party advantage. It may well be that Liberal and Labour alike have miscalculated, for while there have been "peace conferences" before, many Australians are coming to the view that this one may have particular significance for their own futures.

MALAYA - 1946

By Lord Ogmores*

"ON your way back from Sarawak" said the Secretary of State for the Colonies "you might look in at Malaya. Things seem to be unsettled there. I should be glad to have your views."

Of course Sarawak was primarily in our minds—the minds of Captain Gammans and myself—because the Government had asked us to go there to report upon the problem that had arisen over the proposed cession by the Rajah to the King but towards the end of our mission we received telegrams constantly from Malaya. It was obvious that the people there were anticipating a visit from us with some eagerness and when we had come to an agreed opinion on Sarawak and our ship, H.M.S. Pickle, set sail from Kuching to Singapore our thoughts turned once more to the Peninsula, the country and the people we both knew and loved so well.

The immediate aftermath of war had not only brought the end of the Japanese occupation, it had continued the shortage of rice and it had introduced a new constitution. Malaya for years had been delicately poised between Malays and Chinese. The Chinese had the economic power, the Malays the political. The Malays feared that the new constitution with its Central Government and its reduction of state rights would secure for the Chinese both economic and political dominance and that henceforth the Malays would be mere hewers of wood and drawers of water in their own homeland.

To say that the Malays misunderstood the purpose of the constitution is beside the point. They had welcomed liberation and military government. They felt that to impose a new constitution implying possibly vast changes, immediately after liberation, before the country had time to draw a new breath, was not playing the game. They felt as children feel who have been rebuffed, in their opinion unjustly, by their elders; they were hurt and bewildered. Here and there stronger feelings smouldered and it would not take long before anger and hate burst like a flame from one end of the country to the other.

It was in this atmosphere that Captain Gammans and I landed at Singapore. He pushed ahead by car from South to North, I flew with Mr. Malcolm MacDonald, the Commissioner General, to Penang, as that was my former home in Malaya and this was his first official visit. I had been at his installation in Singapore, a ceremony boycotted by the Malay rulers and the Nationalist leaders.

After a brief ceremony in Penang, I crossed to the mainland for my arranged journey West to East. I was to meet Captain Gammans, the Rulers and the Nationalist representatives, in Kuala Kangsar, the capital of Perak.

Along the hot, shining road, sped my car, to be stopped at every town and village by crowds, above whose heads streamed banners, across the road, reading in Malay "Welcome to Colonel Rees-Williams," "Down with Malayan Union." How thankful I was that the sentiments were not reversed!

The procedure was usually the same. School children looking like fresh and beautiful little flowers, would be lined up on each side of the road, boys one side and girls the other. The schoolmaster and the schoolmistress, the District Officer or his Assistant, the Headman, the Mahomedan priest and other local notabilities would be present, my car would draw up at the banner archway, one of those present would read an address making pointed comment upon the constitution, at a sign the children would burst into song, then after handshakes all round I would get into my car and drive on. Captain Gammans had similar experiences and many more of them for the distance he had to cover was greater than mine.

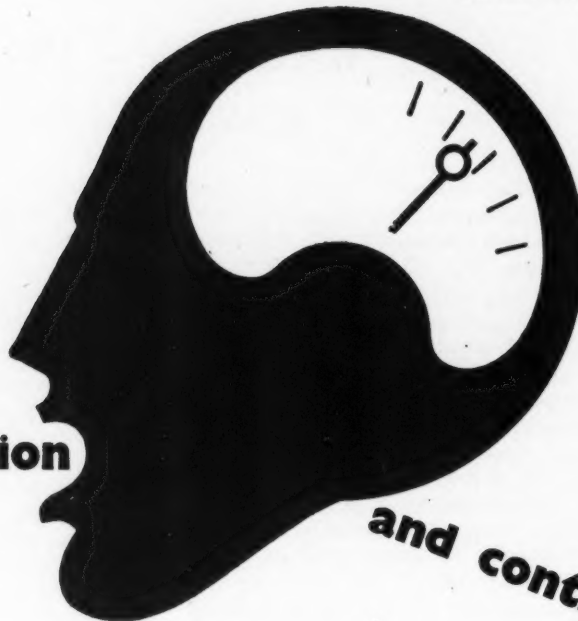
Anyone who remembered the political torpor of Malays in pre-war days was bound to be struck with this passionate interest in the political future of their country, struck too by the part women were playing, for in all the years I lived in Malaya I had never met a Malay woman to talk to and here they were organizing demonstrations, speaking at mass meetings and taking their place at public banquets. Evidently Malaya was changing and changing fast. And the quality of the organization was superb. Remember it was only a few months after liberation. There was practically no public transport, very few private cars and the telephone and telegraph service could not have been back to normal. Here was something to think about. The Malays were showing qualities which had hitherto been unsuspected. What else lay beneath the crust of easy-going torpor they had for so long exhibited?

When I arrived at Kuala Kangsar with our able private secretary Mr. Barrett of the M.C.S., a man with a great love of the country in his heart, I found we were all being put up at the great pink palace of the Sultan and inside the palace the place was like a fair. Not only were Captain Gammans and I accommodated there with our small staff, but also all the Rulers with their retinues, the Prime Ministers of the States, and a vast concourse of Nationalist leaders and henchmen. All this in addition to the Sultan's family household, and Court. But Malay royal hospitality is boundless and the late Sultan of Perak made everyone feel perfectly at home.

*Formerly Lieut. Col. REES-WILLIAMS, M.P.

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The Palace although on the outside not very pleasing is very comfortable, with large, cool rooms, opening out on to the wide lawns overlooking the Perak river. Beyond were hills covered with trees and the luxuriant foliage of the tropics.

After a bath and change I ventured to pay my respects to the Sultan. His Highness was sitting in his private apartments with three other Rulers. We spoke for a time of indifferent matters and then I bowed myself out and was immediately taken to see the great Malay leader, whose photograph was everywhere, namely, Dato Onn. With him were several of the younger leaders, some of whom I had known for years and one, Tungku Abdul Rahman, had been a close friend of mine in the early 30's in Penang and Kedah. Tungku Abdul Rahman was a son of the late Sultan of Kedah and a half brother of his present Highness. When I knew him previously he had been a young District Officer and although keen on his job was interested, outside it, chiefly in sport and fast motor cars; we had never in fact discussed politics at all. Now he was showing a new purposefulness and when I saw him jump out of a battered old lorry in whose cab he had driven untold miles, in the heat of the Malayan sun, I realised that a new Abdul Rahman had arrived and that the terrible days of the occupation had made many changes in my old playmate.

I said that all the nine Rulers were present but in fact one was absent namely the Sultan of Johore who was in the United Kingdom and whose place was taken by the Tungku-Makhota, the Regent of Johore.

The Regent had entertained me royally in Johore on behalf of his father. We had had a state lunch at the Old Palace in Johore Bahru which, as it is now a show place and museum, must have entailed enormous preparations and improvisations to lay on so large a banquet. He had taken me over the Palace and shown me the treasures, glittering jewels, a solid gold dinner service and a huge golden trophy made to be presented to a former departing Viceroy of India, Lord Elgin I think, but, the receipt of it being rendered impossible by civil services rules, bought by a former Sultan of Johore. The Regent had also entertained me at a dance at his own house on the hill. There was a pleasant mixture of races among the guests, to a far greater extent than was formerly usual in Malaya, but Johore is cosmopolitan in this respect. There, too, were Lord and Lady Killearn and their daughter. Lord Killearn at that time was living in another of the Sultan's Palaces and was doing much good work in the allocation of rice among the starving peoples of South-East Asia.

On former occasions the Tungku Makhota had been in great form, a genial host and a fluent talker. Here he seemed depressed; silent, ill-at-ease, as were they all.

The Rulers were polite, as always, but anxious, I thought. The Nationalist leaders were anxious too, but determined. The Party opposed to Dato Onn's was openly half-hostile. It was obviously that the blow to Malay feelings and pride went deep. It could not be put down, as it was so often put down in certain circles in the United Kingdom, to the incitement of former European Proconsuls now living in retirement at Bournemouth or Cheltenham.

In this somewhat strained atmosphere we met for the first of the State banquets. This banquet was held in a large hall in the Palace. At the top table, to the right and left of our host, the then Sultan of Perak, were the other Rulers, the military Commander of the Area, Captain Gammans and myself. Ranged at four long tables down the room were hundreds of guests. Most of the Malays were dressed in the modern style evening dress, black silk baju or tunic with gold or diamond buttons, black silk trousers, a narrow silk sarong or kilt and a black velvet cap. I like this dress and believe it looks attractive but it sometimes arouses criticism. Not all the Malays were so dressed. Ungku Aziz, the Prime Minister of Johore, for example was in a pink baju with a flame coloured sarong and others were in baju and sarong of other, if less colourful, hues. The General, the other military Officers, Captain Gammans and I, sartorially, were no match for our hosts. The Officers were in tropical khaki. Captain Gammans and I were travelling light and in any case we had not been able to buy suitable tropical clothing at that time in London. In my own case all I had been able to obtain were two suits of curious looking drill which gave me the appearance of being a boiler-maker in his father's professional suit of an earlier day and generation. However the Malays understood our difficulties and although usually rather sticklers in these matters excused our inappropriate apparel.

To the rear of the high table and above it was a gallery covered with a grill. From it I could feel rather than see many eager eyes looking down on the brilliant scene at the dinner. "My relations," said the Sultan, in explanation.

The main course as at all real Malay banquets was of rice with accompanying edibles. As a concession to the Europeans present we ate it with spoons and forks although the Malays do not usually use any implements but their fingers for this dish. During the meal the Sultan leant over and told me that he would be saying a few words and would like Captain Gammans, the General and myself to reply. Captain Gammans who was formerly a Malayan Civil Servant spoke a more grammatical Malay than mine and had a better vocabulary. I felt that my Malay, after years of disuse, at a moment's notice before pretty well all the celebrities in the Malay world was really

not good enough. I beckoned to Ted Barrett, who is a Malay scholar, and asked him in a whisper, to give me a few sentences which would serve as the main dish of my speech. But Ted is, as I have said, a Malay scholar, and he produced something in *rajah* or literary Malay which I could not even read leave alone pronounce. I must explain too, that when speaking to Malay royalty, certain words are used which are never used anywhere else. These also were strange to me. I beckoned frantically to Ted again and told him forcibly that I wanted something simpler. They all knew that I had lived previously in Penang and would not expect high flown eloquence in Malay from me. This time Ted produced something much

simpler which satisfied me and appeared to satisfy my listeners.

Captain Gammans who is fluent in Malay as in English, spoke happily and the General in English gave his thanks on behalf of the Military present.

With that we broke up and went to bed, conscious that the ice had been slightly cracked, that the natural friendliness of the Malays towards the British was beginning to flower again, but conscious also the the next two or three days would be fateful ones, not only for Malaya but for South-East Asia as a whole.

(To be continued)

THE ABORIGINES OF MALAYA

By H. I. S. Kanwar

ALTHOUGH there are a number of aboriginal tribes in Malaya, they can be divided into three main groups: Negroid, Mongolian and Australoid. It has been difficult to make a proper census, but they are estimated to number about 35,000. Until recently very little was known about these people, not only to foreigners but also to the Malays themselves, since they have been more or less cut off from the rest of the world.

The closest contact existed with the Malays residing in the remote kampongs bordering the thick tropical jungles. The District Officers maintained their liaison through local *penghulus* and minor village headmen, who have played no small part in keeping touch with the aborigines. However, these village headmen have not been able to throw much light on their jungle neighbours. Consequently, some of the enterprising District Officers had to venture deep into the forests to gain first hand information from time to time.

Mayalan aborigines have a number of points in common. They are all generally short in stature, and can be classified as pygmies. Their complexions range from dark brown to black, and their hair is either wavy or woolly. Adept at climbing trees, swinging from tree to tree with the agility of an orang-utang (amongst whom they roam unheeded), they excel in stalking silently through the bush, especially when hunting for wild animals.

They appear to be quite immune to the malarial mosquito, although usually are almost nude. They exhibit some knowledge of personal hygiene, delighting in splashing and swimming in ponds and streams, their womenfolk and children joining in the fun.

The aborigines have acquired the rudiments of cooking, and are adept at lighting a fire by means of rubbing

two pieces of bamboo. One piece is held flat between the toes, while the other is rotated backwards and forwards on the former, until intense heat is created to produce a glow, to which they quickly add dry leaves to build up a fire.

They collect water in bamboo shafts which they use for cooking wild herbs and tender bamboo shoots and leaves, the more advanced also manage to boil rice in them. They are partial to fish, which they catch in ponds and rivers with the aid of bamboo traps, some of which are ingenious in design. As a rule, these aboriginal tribes are nomadic, sometimes halting at clearings, where they plant hill paddy and then move on after a harvest or two.

Being illiterate, they have little sense of reasoning except by instinct, and practise no recognizable religion. Despite their paucity in numbers, they have their own dialects, resembling monosyllabic chatter, intelligible only to those in intimate contact with them. Generally harmless, and unlike the head-hunting Dyaks of Borneo, they do not practise cannibalism.

They have their own tribal and ritual dances, accompanied by strange and yet enchanting rhythms which are produced by beating rocks with bamboo shafts. With spiked head-dresses, faces painted over with white and red patterns, they form a circle around a fire, jerking and swaying to the music, which gradually increases in tempo. Sometimes, the women also join in to add colour to the ritual, their torsos performing jerky contortions.

The Semang

The Semang tribe being Negroid prototypes, can be recognised by their black skins, short stature and woolly

hair. They are believed to be among the earliest settlers in Malaya, and similar peoples exist not only in the Andamans but also in the Philippines. In Malaya, they include subtribes known as the Jehai, Sakai Jeram and Lanho. They are mostly found in Kedah, Perak, North Pahang and Kelantan.

The Semang are the most primitive of Malaya's aborigines. They are nomadic in character, roaming in remote areas of the jungles and their hinterland. Unlike the Sakai, who build pile-houses, the Semang reside in crude leaf shelters, on tree-tops and even in caves, when necessity and instinct guide them to do so. When found in caves, however, it can be surmised that they have planted some crop, generally paddy, and are awaiting its harvest.

They are a race of fire-worshippers, and at burial provide both food and drink for the soul of the dead. Mild in temper, the Semang are singularly free from the crimes that spring from greed and passion.

It may be of interest to note that at present, except as a study for the anthropologist, the existence of the Semang in Malaya is almost unrecognised. They number no more than 2,000.

The Jakun

The Jakun of the Malay Peninsula, the Bataks Lampongs and Achinese of Sumatra, the Dyaks Kayau and Murut of Borneo, the Torajas of Celebes, the Igorots of the Philippines, all belong to the proto-Malay type of peoples.

In the past, the Jakuns were driven out of the plains into the interior by the more civilised Malays. Today, they are mostly found in the jungles of South Pahang, Negri Sembilan and Johore. They are also in evidence in Bengkalis and other islands around Singapore, where they are locally known as "Orang Laut," which in Malay stands for the "Men of the Sea," a name which has stuck on account of their being good sailors, swimmers and fishermen. In the forests, they depend on fruits and wild game for livelihood.

During recent times, however, the Jakun have ventured into the plains, especially coastal villages, where they have mingled with the local Malays for a number of generations, thus becoming civilised. As their women have often been married to the Malays, as a race they are dying out.

Apart from the few who roam the jungle hinterland, a good proportion of the Jakun have become a settled community, their main occupations being agriculture and fishing.

Prior to World War II, some of them were to be seen at Singapore and Penang Harbours, where, as the ships approached port, passengers were greeted by the Orang



Temiar in Pahang

Laut in their little canoes, waving their arms and merrily begging for money. The more generous amongst the passengers tossed coins overboard, and the Orang Laut immediately dived after them. These divers showed amazing alertness and keen sight, and were capable of remaining under water for quite a long spell. Nowadays they are no more to be seen, as sharks have driven them off.

Jakun womenfolk, by primitive standards, are about the best looking amongst the aborigines. Even those in the jungle hinterland and the remote kampongs wear the sarong, but leave the upper half of the body bare. They have beautiful long jet black hair of which they are very proud. Some are fond of chewing tobacco, while others have taken to cheap cigarettes or cheroots. On the whole they possess good physique.

The Orang Laut

Jakun in origin, the Orang Laut are about the most civilised amongst the aborigines. Generally found inhabiting coastal villages and in the vicinity of ports along the West Coast, they are mainly engaged in fishing and agriculture. They are in evidence at Port Swettenham, islands off Dinding, and Singapore where alone they number over 2,000. Today, it is difficult to distinguish the Orang Laut, as they bear a striking likeness to the normal Malay. Quite a few of the educated Orang Laut are employed as clerks in commercial houses, while their less literate brethren work as labourers in the docks in Singapore.

They comprise several subtribes, and in Singapore, where their community life has been closely observed, they can be divided into the Kon Seletar, Orang Kellang and Orang Selat. Incidentally, they speak their own variation of Malay. Generally Mohammedan by religion, some of them are still unconverted. The Orang Laut have their village headmen are well-known for their community sense.

The Temiar

The Temiar, more commonly known as the Sakai, are of primitive Indonesian stock. One authority states that the Temiar hailed from Indo-China, arriving in Malaya after the Semang, and never reaching Sumatra. But this point is debatable because the Sakai's mode of living and habits are more akin to those of similar tribes in Indonesia, rather than in Indo-China. Actually, the Sakai are a somewhat unmixed branch of the Melanesian race, and are quite distinct from the Malays.

They can be recognised by their brown skins and wavy hair, and are taller and fairer in complexion than the Semang. They reside in the mountains and foothills, mainly in South East Perak, North West Pahang and certain areas in Selangor, leading a nomadic carefree existence, subsisting on jungle fruit and wild animals, which they either trap or kill with their primitive weapons. Their stone-axe is similar to those used in the Stone Age. The Kinta Valley and the River Mu basin beyond Kuala Legap are also inhabited by subtribes of the Sakai, who are also in evidence on the other side of the mountain backbone in Sunyei Ber in Kelantan State.

Sakai are fond of hunting and shooting, using bows and arrows, and the blowpipe, with which they are able to kill small animals and birds. An arrow or dart about a foot long is inserted into one end of the blow-pipe (about six feet long) and by means of a powerful blow of air from the mouth, the dart is shot out. The blowpipe is effective up to about fifty yards or so, although tales have been related of its damaging power at 100 yards. With their bows and arrows, the Sakai can fatally injure bigger animals, such as the wild boar, the Seladang (Malayan Bison) and the panther, leaving the herb poison on the arrow-tips to finish off the victim.

Recently the Sakai have become a little more accessible, and some of those who have tasted kampong life on the jungle border are fond of exchanging forest produce, meat and fruit, for salt, tobacco and cloth. The more advanced among them plant millet, sugar-cane, plantain, tobacco and hill rice. Being nomadic, they generally move on to new areas after a harvest or two.

The normal Sakai are meagrely dressed, wearing matted leaves, though occasionally some have been seen with coarse cloth around their waists. They fight shy of civilised strangers, and whenever their habitations are approached, they forsake their crude pile houses to

conceal themselves and their families in neighbouring bushes.

The Sakai have a language of their own, understood only by those who have intimate contact with them, and so far as is generally known have no recognisable form of religion or worship. They are extremely superstitious, fear evil spirits and ghosts, and are scared of any kind of unusual phenomena.

Danger of Extinction

In March 1950, an organisation known as the Perak Aboriginal Constabulary was formed to look after the welfare of the aborigines, whose existence since the Emergency has been greatly affected by banditry. Since its inception, the P.A.C. has assisted over 1,000 Temiar to settle in new *ladangs*, the object of which is to bring them into an area where they can receive protection and prevent them from growing food for bandit gangs in the jungles. The bandits have been forcing these people to act as scouts, guides and sentries in their war against the Malayan Government.

Once they are assigned an area for settlement, the Temiar are assisted in building and in jungle clearance. It usually takes about six months for them to become self-supporting. During the transit period, the aborigines are provided with rations and medical aid. After the clearing is selected, they plant maize, tapioca and hill rice, and are able to earn money from the sale of jungle produce such as cane, bamboo and timber. In all, over 3,500 have been resettled in this manner.

Prior to World War II, the aborigines were virtually left to themselves. However, the arrival of the Japanese followed by their occupation of over three and a half years caused many people in Malaya, especially those living in remote villages and townships, to flee into the jungle to escape persecution. These people included both Malays and Chinese, and even a sprinkling of Indians. Later, due to the creation of a fifth column for the Allies in 1944, guerillas, who formed the nucleus of the Malayan People's Anti-Japanese Army, went into the interior to keep at a safe distance from the Japanese. Thus, the life of tranquility led by the aborigines was much upset, and this made them flee further into the thick forests.

Today, the Communists have now taken the place of the M.P.A.J. Due to their hide-outs being in the remote jungles, and the consequential bombing and shelling by Government forces, it is believed that a number of aborigines have suffered loss of property and even life.

Unless a proper long term plan is drawn out to civilise them, educate them so that they can take their proper place as citizens of the country, it is feared that there is a chance of the aborigines becoming extinct. However, it is encouraging to note that the present government has already something in hand in this direction.

THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN KOREA

By Robert T. Oliver (Washington)

THE political situation in Korea, which has been a subject of much recent discussion, appears at this writing about to be resolved by an agreement that will provide for: (1) popular election of the President; (2) conversion of the present one-house National Assembly into a two-chamber body; and (3) confirmation of cabinet appointees by the Assembly. For seeking to achieve the first two parts of this programme President Syngman Rhee has been under heavy fire from his volatile foreign critics. Half a dozen nations have hastened to subscribe to President Truman's note expressing "shock" over Korea's political developments.

What are the facts?

The most basic fact is that essential democracy is being born in Korea, under conditions aggravated by the war, and that President Rhee is serving as the midwife. Far from using military power, or any other power, to try to entrench himself in office, President Rhee is fighting for the right of the people to elect their own Chief Executive.

As a man of 77 years, far beyond the age of personal ambition, Dr. Rhee is making a hard fight to sink the roots of genuine democracy so deeply into Korea that no subsequent events or regime can uproot it.

A major step toward universal democracy was taken in the local elections of April and May when 17,558 provincial and village officials, formerly appointed by the President, were elected by 6,727,026 voters—89 per cent of all those eligible to cast ballots. This was a tremendous surrender of power which the Constitution lodges in the presidency—a voluntary surrender of power by the very man accused of seeking to make himself a dictator!

Last November, while I was serving in Pusan as an Adviser to President Rhee, he requested the National Assembly to adopt two Constitutional Amendments which would, similarly, pass back to the people power now lodged in the Assembly. These two amendments provided for direct election of the President by all the people and for the conversion of the present unicameral Assembly into a two-house legislature.

President Rhee is still seeking to achieve these aims, and the Korean people are giving every evidence of upholding him in these demands. Who can say that it is not democratic to let the people elect their own President? Who can claim it is "dictatorial" to try to transfer electoral authority from the 183 National Assembly members to South Korea's seven million workers?

The charge has been made that if Rhee's goal is sound, at least his methods are bad. When I was there last November, I advised President Rhee to use the

"normal" methods of securing the necessary votes in the Assembly for his Constitutional Amendments. I pointed out that in any democracy, the normal political process is for the Executive to call in the leading members of the legislature, find out what they want, and give them as much as possible. Log-rolling and horse-trading are traditional and "honourable" political methods.

President Rhee pushed this advice aside. He said he would consider it dishonourable to promise political patronage and other favours to buy votes. As a matter of fact, he meant to reduce all patronage to the minimum—and did so in the epochal local elections of last April and May. He said that the election of the President by the people is right, and being right, the people would demand it. Who would now be condemning his methods if he had quietly brought up the necessary votes, instead of openly carrying the fight to the people? Yet is not the method he did adopt much the better of the two?

President Rhee may appear to lack finesse in handling the political opposition in the National Assembly, but no one has ever questioned his great ability to arouse the whole mass of the Korean people to an awareness of their own rights. What has now happened in Korea is that President Rhee has aroused on the part of the masses a fervour for the right of electing their own Chief Executive which is comparable in depth of feeling to the unanimous nation-wide opposition to trusteeship and to coalition with the Communists. This fervour, now aroused, cannot be quelled. Surely the United States does not wish to lead any international opposition to this right!

But what of the threat to dissolve the National Assembly? What of the arrest of 12 of its Members? What of martial law?

President Rhee has frankly avowed that his threat to dissolve the National Assembly was an effort to dramatize the fact that the rights of the people are above even the Constitution. Only the simple-minded can believe that the transfer of power to elect the President from the National Assembly to the people could ever be achieved except by drastic means. Not only do the 183 Assemblymen seek to retain this power for their own advantage, but also they are strongly swayed by non-Korean sources that wish to influence the selection of the next President and can do so most easily if they have only to bribe or intimidate a majority of 183 Members.

Eleven Members of the National Assembly were arrested because of evidence that they were being directly influenced from Communist sources to vote for a Presidential candidate who would favour a political coalition

FROM ALL QUARTERS

Return of Mrs. Tomi Kora

Only 450 people were allowed, after careful police screening, on the airfield to welcome Mrs. Tomi Kora when she returned to Japan after her four-month trip abroad. In addition, U.S. Air Force personnel with fixed bayonets were posted at strategic points, but no disturbances occurred.

Mrs. Kora said she had not expected that her surprise visit to the Soviet Union and Communist China would shock the Japanese people so seriously. She explained that she had merely intended to see with her own eyes if the two Communist countries wanted peace or war. She found the Soviet and Chinese people sympathetic and affectionate towards the Japanese, and the Chinese had offered to trade with Japan so that the two countries could live in peace. Commenting on the living conditions of the working people in China, she said that their lives were "quite plain" but that they had enough to eat.

In discussing contemporary events in Japan, Mrs. Kora said she did not agree with the tactics of the Japanese Communists. She was absolutely against the Communist idea that peace must be won through a struggle, including the use of force.

During her journey, Mrs. Kora stayed in New Delhi, where she met the Indian Prime Minister, who had given her permission to translate two of his books into Japanese—the royalties to be used for child welfare work. She said that Pandit Nehru showed great interest in existing conditions in Japan and believed that the Japanese people remained at heart an utterly peace-loving people.

(Continued from Page 21)

between North and South Korea. If the Communists could achieve this result, they would win the war in Korea behind the backs of the United Nations and Korean armies that are defending the battleline. Possibly some "neutralist" members of the United Nations might favour this "solution." Surely the United States does not, and certainly the Koreans do not.

The twelfth Member of the National Assembly who was arrested has been charged with murdering a Korean army officer in a tea-house quarrel. This is purely a civil law case having no reference to the political situation.

As for martial law, it was imposed temporarily because of unsettled conditions which led to the murder of five American soldiers by guerillas on the very outskirts of Pusan, and because of the outbreak of demonstrations in Pusan in which hundreds of people were wounded. Tempers in Korea these days are at white-heat, and strong measures are required to restore order.

In a letter dated June 2, addressed to the United Nations Commission, President Rhee said: "Some of our friends (have) openly criticized me as engaging in a struggle

The Institute of Indonesian Culture

The Institute of Indonesian Culture, a semi-official body, was founded after the first Indonesian Cultural Congress which was held at Magelang (Central Java) in August 1948. However, it was not until the emergence of the United States of Indonesia that the reports of the Magelang Congress could be published in Djakarta in the first issue of *Indonesia*, the official organ of the Institute of Indonesian Culture.

Every month the Institute holds lectures for its members and these have included talks by members on their impressions on culture in different countries, both East and West.

To stimulate cultural activities in various parts of Indonesia regional dances have been demonstrated while newly created dances have also been introduced as experiments.

In October 1951 the Institute organized its second congress at Bandung, to discuss such questions as film-censorship, the encouragement of literature, copyright, art criticism and cultural organization. This last subject was also a special matter of discussion at the Cultural Conference in April this year.

The Institute of Indonesian Culture has already much to its credit. Contacts with other associations have been made and maintained, and activities of the different sections are constantly stimulated. Moreover the Institute has helped those artists who wanted to go abroad to study or to visit various parts of Indonesia.

for power. This is absolutely untrue. The real struggle for power is being launched between the people demanding the direct election of the President and some members of the National Assembly, who, ignoring the wishes of the people, are insisting that they should elect the President. I am convinced that, after the present political battle is over, you will realise that it is I, not my opponents, who are helping you in your mission in Korea."

Events in Korea are not conforming to the political patterns established in the United States. Neither are the conditions similar. On the one hand, President Rhee is not trying, as have some Latin American dictators (two of them in recent weeks), to seize power through a military coup. On the contrary, he is merely trying to guarantee to the people of Korea the essential right of electing their own President—a right that is inherent in true democracy in any country anywhere.

If his whole programme—everything he is fighting for—is completely successful, this is the sum and substance of what he will have achieved. Who wants to quarrel with that?



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Air Passages for School Children

A PROPOSAL to give civil servants more family life by providing one free return air passage for every child at school in the United Kingdom in each tour of men of ten years' service and upwards has, after several months' consideration, been rejected by the Malayan Government.

This retrogressive decision contrasts with the criticism of living conditions of members of the Malayan Civil Service made by the Secretary of State for the Colonies Mr. Oliver Lyttelton in the House of Commons on July 17 when he said that "the conditions under which the M.C.S. had to work could not be accepted."

One reform which the Colonial Secretary might sponsor is to enable every civil servant to have his children in his own home at least once a year. (See *EASTERN WORLD*, September 1951).

The existing conditions, under which fathers may see their children, once they pass the age of six or seven and cannot remain in a tropical climate belong to the Steam, not the Air Age.

In 1948 BOAC introduced a scheme to shorten separations between parents and children by offering to fly *bona fide* school children and/or students to their overseas homes at half the adult fare and some of the larger firms

already provide one return air passage for the wife and every child in each tour of two or three years.

On July 29, the first of this summer's "School-children's Specials" left London Airport for Colombo carrying 50 children at school in the United Kingdom to spend their summer holidays with parents living and working overseas.

Altogether BOAC are this year flying out 1,400 schoolchildren between the ages of seven and 17 to their overseas homes. This figure represents an increase of about 40 per cent on last year's total of 998 and doubles the number in 1949 and 1950.

Their destinations are mainly Hong Kong, Japan, India, Pakistan and Ceylon. Most of the children travel unaccompanied on BOAC's regular services to the Far East but, owing to the great increase of young passengers, on certain flights this year BOAC Argonauts are being exclusively commissioned for schoolchildren.

But air passages, even at the reduced rate, are beyond the means of most parents, and the prospect of a broken family life, inevitable under the existing system when the children are growing up, is an increasing deterrent to recruiting for the Colonial Service.

KOREA

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BOOKS on the

Ancient South-East Asian Warfare by H. G. QUARITCH
WALES, Ph.D., Litt.D., (Bernard Quaritch, 35s.)

There have been comparative studies of the art, magic and law of the Indonesian area and Dr. Wales himself has written on the prehistory and archaeology of "Greater India" or South-East Asia. Here he has made a study of the changing methods of warfare in an area, where (except for a few years under European flags) wars have been unending.

As in his last book, the author is indebted, like every student of the region, to the work of Dutch scholars, his first chapter being a summary from the classical volumes of Dr. N. Adriani and Alb. C. Kruyt on the Torajas of Celebes. This chapter will be of great value to ethnographers and there is a political and topical interest in reading how primitive war was dictated by economic interests (disputes over slaves, buffaloes or land) as well as by the religious motive of getting heads for ritual practices. It is illuminating, too, to discover how pagan raiders had to invent a plausible *casus belli* to win the help of their ancestral ghosts. This opening chapter closes with an outline of the first definitive influence on the culture of the region, namely the Dongsonian, so far as it relates to war. And Dr. Wales notes how this bronze culture appears to have left traces of its art on the figure-heads of war-boats.

The next chapter makes it clear that the Chinese theory of warfare with Sun Tzu's prohibition of superstitious rites and the taking of omens had little or no influence in South-East Asia. More acceptable were the magic and theory of Indian warfare, of which there are echoes in the *Malay Annals*. Even the Malay amuck is probably due to Indian example. And not only the sculpture of Barabudur but Dr. Wales's own discoveries in a buried Kedah sanctuary are evidence of the coming of Indian weapons. Raffles' *Java* reproduces a Javanese battle-array of Hindu pattern that appears to have been actually used circa 1520 in the Mataram war, and Dr. Wales might have noted, further, that Javanese knowledge of Indian battle formations is attested in their version of the *Mahabharata*—that was translated into Malay in the 15th century. On page 70 the fact is overlooked that the tale of Malacca's warriors reading the story of Muhammad Hanafiah before their battle with d'Albuquerque is probably a fiction plagiarized from the recital by Krishna of the *Bhagavad-Gita* to Arjuna before the great fight between the Pandavas and Kuravas began.

In the chapter on "Khmer and Charms" several pages are devoted to naval warfare.

The bulk of the author's own original researches is contained in the last two chapters on "Siam and Burma."

RICHARD WINSTEDT

FAR EAST

Japan in World History by C. B. SANSON (New York: Institute of Pacific Relations. \$2.00)

Sir George Sansom says of himself "... I am a devoted, I might say a fanatical, student of Japanese history ...", and in this series of lectures, first delivered in December 1950 at the University of Tokyo, he makes a strong plea for its study, and the relating of the history of Japan to that of the "march of events in the world at large." Few have done more than Sir George to practise what he has preached. His books, *Japan: A Short Cultural History* and *The Western World and Japan* have given him a great reputation as an authority on Japan, and his virtue as a western writer is that he does not treat Japanese history in a condescending manner; nor does he contrast it unfavourably with the history of western nations.

He says in the last of these lectures that "the cautious historian should avoid writing of the past in terms of the present;" and although this empirical approach applies to all historical study, with Japanese history it is even more relevant. Japan today, politically, economically, socially and in all respects, is vastly changed from the Japan of even fifty years ago, and to try and relate the country's history to contemporary life could only result in a distorted account of its institutions. For a western student with preconceived principles of social and political conduct, the study of Japanese history is more problematical, and it is with the realization of this difficulty that Sir George Sansom asks, in these lectures, that the country's history be brought into the pattern of general world history to which "western students can make a modest contribution if their Japanese colleagues will be kind enough to give their advice and help," and he goes on, in a most helpful and scholarly way, to show how he thinks certain periods in the history of England and Japan are, perhaps, complementary in social behaviour and can be historically related. Altogether the author presents most interesting and cogent arguments.

J. W. T. COOPER

Islamic Constitution by KEMAL A. FARUKI (Karachi: Khokhropar Gateway Publications. Rs.4.8.)

Mr. Faruki is a very bold young man. He has written a constitution which expresses in terms "suitable for this era, the enduring and universal principles of Islam." No one suggests, least of all the author, that this constitution will be adopted by any of the existing Muslim States but he does seem to raise an inquiring metaphorical eyebrow when he says that "this book has particular reference to Pakistan."

There is no doubt that it is a work produced of much study, not only of the Quran, but of constitutional law and

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Islamic sociology. When it is remembered that no constitution for Great Britain has ever been set forth in a single document, but that the country has been governed on more or less flexible principles and practices involved in government by Kings, Lords, and Commons; and that the constitution of the United States was evolved by a great number of men of first class ability at the Convention of 1787, it will be realized what a gargantuan task Mr. Faruki has undertaken.

The fundamental needs of a community are about the same whatever the principles of their government, and although an Islamic State may well need, in theory an Islamic constitution, unless it allows of great flexibility there is a danger that the principles of Islam will become less of principles than of laws, less of a code of conduct than a rigid method of behaviour. It can be said of the author that he has not lost sight of this, and it is encouraging to read that such a constitution "is not an end in itself and should not attempt to be exhaustive."

This work will, without doubt, provide a great stimulus to young Moslem thinkers.

J. W. T. COOPER

From Town and Tribe translated by C. G. CAMPBELL
(Ernest Benn, 10s. 6d.)

This is a fascinating collection of folk tales translated from Arabic and other languages by a writer with long experience of the manners and customs of the Middle East. He has captured the Oriental outlook and the atmosphere of the Arabian Nights stories is well reproduced—we even find the name of Haroun the Commander of the Faithful figuring in the anthology.

ARGUS

New Light on the Most Ancient East by V. GORDON
CHILDE (Routledge and Kegan Paul, 35s.)

Though for most of the past fifteen years the world has been torn by strife, it is significant that in the sphere of archaeology so much new ground has been covered in the Near and Middle East that a complete rewriting of this very important work has been necessary. The volume examines the ancient civilisations of Egypt, Sumeria and the Indus Valley and points of resemblance and dissimilarity between them are fully brought out. For our purposes what is of the greatest interest is the resemblance between the beginnings of city life at Mohenjo Daro and Harappa and urbanisation in Sumeria, and the overall similarity of the economies of the three oldest Oriental civilisations on the borders of prehistory with, at the same time, the emergence in India of certain features that were to become a distinctive part of the Hindu system. The author, who is Director of the Institute of Archaeology in London, and one of the leading authorities on Prehistoric Archaeology, has drawn for us a picture of the birth of civilisation in the East which makes an exciting prelude

to the story of European civilisation. The volume is profusely illustrated with 39 plates as well as two maps and over 100 line drawings and is of absorbing interest.

B.E.H.F.

My India by JIM CORBETT (*Oxford University Press*, 10s. 6d.)

As the author of *The Man-eaters of Kumaon* and *The Man-eating Leopard of Rudraprayag*, Jim Corbett is well-known to many readers. There is the danger of a surfeit of such good fare. But the present book, despite the striking vignette on the cover, is of a different genre, with all the author's easy, vivid style of writing.

It is a series of appealing and at times moving studies of the humblest people, some of the class of Untouchables, of north India. Among them the author has lived all his life and has earned his living for many years, sharing their toil and dangers and winning their wonderful loyalty and their devotion. The tales reveal the warm and liberal sympathy of a brave man of fine sensibility to whom was vouchsafed a background such as was given to few Britons, outside the missionary field, during the last decades of British *raj*.

On the one hand the qualities of the people are depicted in a setting of encounters with wild and dangerous forest animals; or, as in the story of the outlaw Sultana, of revolt against authority. There is the story of how Haria rescued his brother from quite literally the jaws of death; a deed which, as the rightly says, is unsurpassed for sheer cold courage. Then also the plain unvarnished tale how a man almost completely disembowelled by a tiger walked seven miles across rough country, to get his wound dressed, and survived little the worse.

Other chapters are of more general appeal and point a moral—in the author's words:

"... the Indian whose loyalty and devotion alone made it possible for a handful of men [sc: of an alien race] to administer, for close on two hundred years, a vast sub-continent with its teeming millions."

That profound saying could have been uttered only by one who had come to a real understanding of what the truth of India is.

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Letters to the Editor

The Anglo-Indians

SIR,—I read with considerable interest the article on "The Anglo-Indian Exodus" by Mr. John Stephen of Bombay and the letter from "Anglo-Indian" of London. May I, as an Indian who is expected to be impartial, be permitted to make a few observations?

Mr. Stephen is perfectly right in saying that the British let down the Anglo-Indians badly. They had served the British with a rare loyalty and integrity and naturally looked to the British Crown for patronage of their community to man the important services such as railways, the Posts and Telegraphs Department, etc. But in 1947, from June 3rd to 14th August, Mr. Clement Attlee and Lord Mountbatten had hardly any time to think of such small affairs as the interests of Anglo-Indians and other elements, who had risked their future prospects by being loyal to the ruling power; the two Statesmen were keen on pleasing the vociferous Congress and Muslim League Leaders. Seventy three days was too short a period to liquidate an Empire which took nearly one hundred and fifty years to build. And therefore, no problem but that of disintegration was considered. The often asserted trusteeship of the dumb millions of India by the British were forgotten and those same millions were entrusted to the tender mercies of the Congressmen, who were the worst critics of the British.

"Anglo-Indian" is perfectly right when he says that the Congress bosses have interfered with public services for their selfish and personal ends. The efficiency of those services has deteriorated since Independence. Corruption, and nepotism are rampant and it is a matter for deep regret that an Indian writer in a Delhi weekly (*Organiser*, June 23rd, 1952) observes: "We shouted at them (the British). But we did not quite dislike them. Even the best of us saw something good in them—ability and even integrity. Even the Communists like their language. Even the Prime Minister likes their Commonwealth. The tragic

fact is that there are many educated men in this country, who wish that the British had never gone or could come back." Not a single day passes without the newspapers announcing some scandal—black-marketeering, hoarding, profiteering and corruption. The Anglo-Indians who decided to leave India must have been tired of the new Congress bosses, as many Indians who unfortunately cannot leave this country are equally tired of them. Though there are many snobbish Anglo-Indians of the type described by Mr. Stephen, most of them are honest, diligent and efficient and it is a tragedy that their claims are overlooked in practice, though a nominal guarantee is embodied in the Constitution.

Yours, etc.,
U. V. SEETARAMAIA.

Bangalore.

All Nations Social Club

SIR,—May we trespass on your space to draw your readers' attention to a Club of an unusual kind which badly needs support?

The All Nations Social Club includes members of every nationality, race, colour and social status. It is bringing friendship to hundreds of lonely people. It recognises no distinctions, admitting everyone of adult age who may wish to join. It is non-political, non-sectarian and non-profit making. The Club is run solely to promote international friendship in the interest of peace, to live down, by example, rather than by preaching, racial and colour discrimination, and to provide a place where people from anywhere and everywhere, may make friends and avoid loneliness and boredom.

It is badly in need of money to carry on its work and extend the sphere of its usefulness.

If any of your readers would subscribe to its funds they will be helping to bring happiness to many lonely people. They will be also supporting a principle in which all men of goodwill must believe. Those not wishing to send a donation can alternatively join the Club as "Fellows" by sending a subscription of two-and-a-half guineas, and this, of course, enables them also to attend and participate in any of the Club's numerous activities if they so desire. Cheques or postal orders should be made payable to the All Nations Trust, and sent to the Secretary-General, 51, Chancery Lane, London, W.C.2, from whom further particulars of the Club, its aims and activities can also be obtained if required.

Yours, etc.,

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LONDON NOTEBOOK

Indian Commander-in-Chief

General K. M. Cariappa, Commander-in Chief of the Indian Army who is to retire early next year, has found "nothing but helpfulness and cooperation" from the British authorities during his recent visit to the U.K. General Cariappa has been responsible for the building up of India's new army, the purpose of which he sees in the dual role of defending the country if need arises and of helping the citizens in time of peace. The latter function of a "People's Army" has already been developed to a large degree, and volunteer units of the Indian army are helping villagers to gather tens of thousands of tons of foodstuffs, undertake the cleaning of towns with anti-malaria units, participate on a large scale in the tree planting drive and help districts suffering from drought by digging wells or by supplying water by lorries over enormous distances. While General



Shirin Vajifdar and Krishna Kutty

of planned parenthood are impressed upon soldiers and discussion circles and art exhibitions are now regular features in the life of the Indian Army.

Indian Dancers

The "New Indian Ballet" of Shirin Vajifdar and Krishna Kutty received a warm and enthusiastic welcome in Britain. The company aroused particular interest as it not only presents traditional classical dances, but also new ballets which can be taken as India's contribution to modern dancing. As Mulk Raj Anand, to whose inspiration the company is much indebted, rightly observed, "Indian classical dancing today is as it was in the 4th century. We cannot for ever go on living in the 4th century. India is changing, and we like to show in these dances the development of modern Indian culture."

The attempt is an unqualified success. The blending of traditional conceptions with the expression of contemporary choreographic ideas, has delighted London audiences.

The presentation is unspoiled and

technically superb. Shirin Vajifdar dances with grace and intelligence, and each of her movements is perfection. Krishna Kutty is a master of his art and the onlooker is enthralled by his performance.

Refugees from China

Mr. Thomas Jamieson, joint representative of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees in Hong Kong, visited London last month. It is his task to try and settle elsewhere those 8,000 or so Europeans who find it impossible to make a living in China and who wish to emigrate. At present, only 438 out of the 8,000 have visas for abroad, while Mr. Jamieson believes that another 1,000 could go to Canada or the U.S. if they could see consuls of these two countries. The latter, however, have no representation in China, and refugees are not allowed into Hong Kong without visas to other countries. One of the reasons for Mr. Jamieson's visit to London is to try and get the British Government's consent for at least these 1,000 to visit the respective consulates in the colony.



Cariappa is making use of the army to educate the people, he is also aware of the educational possibilities within the army itself. The principles

LITERARY TRADITIONS IN INDIA (II)

By Krishna Chaitanya (New Delhi)

SIR Mohammed Iqbal, who died in 1938, is the greatest writer Muslim India has produced in recent years. An intense awareness—of nature, of contemporary society, of the movements of history—characterises his writings. The power of the strong sun of India and the might of its turbulent rivers come to life in his poetry, which is equally sensitive to nature in her tranquil moments. But the problems of contemporary life, and especially the reconstruction of Islam were his main preoccupations. He noted the enormous rapidity with which the world of Islam was spiritually moving towards the West. He saw nothing wrong in this as the philosophers of Islam had in the past also received inspiration from Greek thought and had in turn inspired the European renaissance. But he gave the warning that the dazzling exterior of European culture might arrest this process of assimilation and the true inwardness of that culture might never be reached. Iqbal's philosophy of personality was derived from a positive reconstruction of the message of Nietzsche. While Nietzsche or at any rate his German interpreters emphasized the great rights of the Superman, Iqbal stressed his greater obligation to society.

The Urdu poet of today has "other uses for poetry than those of love" as Faiz would say: Faiz's vitriolic poems *Mongrels* and Ehsan Danish's *Labourer's Child* reveal the intense social preoccupations of this new poetry, whose most authentic voice is, perhaps, Josh Malihabadi. Profoundly conscious of the social maladjustments from which incalculable human suffering takes its origin, Josh's poetry is charged with sorrow but is not content with leaving the blame on God and fate. Its denunciation of misery as a calamity, resulting from inhumanity and exploitation, provides it with a dynamic and a social programme.

Tamil, the language of more than eighteen million people living in the state of Madras, dates back to the highly developed Dravidian civilization of pre-Aryan times. Its recorded literature, which has been judged to be "more polished than Greek and more copious than Latin," falls into four main periods.

The early writings, often termed the literature of the Academy, because its entire mass of about 2,500 poems, contributed by nearly 500 poets, was written under the auspices of an academy of critics and scholars, belong to the first millennium of the Christian era. The bulk of these poems are heroic pieces sung by minstrels in banquet halls and they share the tumultuous vitality of Norse

sagas. But there are also a few idylls of a quieter tone, which throw light on the arts and manners, the feasts and festivals and the daily lives of the people. But the greatest treasure of this phase is the didactic verse of Thiruvalluvar. Inspired by humanism, its ethical precepts recognise the justness of man's desire for his portion of worldly pleasures, while upholding the transcendental nature of his ultimate destiny.

Close on four centuries of sluggish literary activity separate the period of the Academy from the period of the reign of the Pallavas, which saw the most glorious development of this civilization in commerce, colonial expansion, art, poetry and architecture. The Pallava age is the period of devotional lyrics. The poets fall into two groups, the Nayanars who praised Lord Siva and the Alvars who sang of Vishnu, among the greatest of the latter being Perialwar and his daughter Andal. Andal's poetry resembles in its intensity the best poetry of Catholic mysticism in Europe.

In the epic period that followed the Pallava age, the expansion of the Tamil empire under Rajendra in the eleventh century gave the impetus for a revival of the early heroic tradition, while the increasing contact with Sanskrit culture shifted the accent from the saga of heroes to the saga of divine incarnations. Thus Kamban, whose *Ramayana* equals in greatness the Sanskrit original of Valmiki, sees in the story of Rama loyalty to the ideal of manliness and at the same time the working of the divine mission to establish justice on earth.

Ascetic treatises preaching otherworldliness, reflecting and further accentuating the diminished vitality of the people, bridge the gulf from the epic age to the renaissance of the modern period, almost entirely the fruit of the contact with the West. Some idea of the influence of the West can be gathered from the fact that Father Beschi, the Italian Jesuit, is acknowledged to be the father of modern Tamil prose. In fashioning out a prose for political and scientific discussion, in the structure of the short story and the novel, the debt to the West is incalculable. It is in the poetic tradition that continuity with the past is still strong. The work of Pattinathar and Ramalinga Swamikal recalls the devotional intensity of the Nayanars and in the work of the late Bharathi, the greatest Tamil poet of the twentieth century, the lofty ethical idealism of Thiruvalluvar and the lyrical intensity of Perialwar fuse with an intense love for the country to yield a poetry exalting the purer type of patriotism.

Some very interesting features characterise the literature of Malayalam, the language of eleven and a half million people inhabiting the western coast of the Indian peninsula. Though Dravidian in origin, Malayalam has taken over the fuller alphabet of Sanskrit and the cross fertilisation of Tamilian and Sanskrit influences has yielded rich advantages for the language, especially in poetry, which now possesses the rhetorical complex metrical mould derived from Sanskrit and the sensuous, lyrical verse-forms of Tamil derivation, which are actually sung as melodies. Secondly, while the fountainheads of the literatures of the other languages are formed by devotional writings, here we find two great figures, the intensely devout Ezhuthachan, praising gods and god-like men and the brilliant, sophisticated Nambiar, who debunked gods and men with god-like pretensions. Nambiar's legacy has been an alert critical awareness, which prevented the growth of all false enthusiasms. These people thus escaped the dangers of cultural insularity by learning not to take themselves

too seriously and they have made heroic efforts to keep in touch with literary developments in other regions in India and in foreign countries. The fact that this part of India has the highest record in education has helped in this endeavour. We find the most diverse influences at work here: the neurosis of Strindberg and Baudelaire, the deep yearning for peace of Maeterlinck, the warm humanity of Li Tai Po and the rugged manliness of Whitman. The critical ability of the people guides the correct assimilation of these foreign influences and the renaissance in Kerala promises to be the most eclectic and catholic of all the regional awakenings. Christianity and Islam in this part of the world are as ancient as the faiths themselves and a process of synthesis has been at work through the slow centuries with the result that today some of the best critics of the Hindu devotional literature of the past are Christians and profoundly moving pieces like *Mary Magdalene* and the *Tree of Life of Calvary* have come from the pen of Hindus.

Worker-Peasant Education in China (II)

By Theodore Hsi-En Chen (University of California)

Elementary Education

FOR some years, the Communists have repeated the slogan "The cadres determine everything." What they mean is that the success or failure of their programme hinges to a large extent on the ability of the cadres to carry out the tasks assigned to them; for, while the plans and policies are handed down by the top leaders, it is the cadres that are given the responsibilities of executing them and it is the cadres that work among the masses and win them over to the side of the revolution.

Unfortunately, many of the cadres, rich in "political consciousness," are sadly deficient in education and in general enlightenment. Illiteracy is high among them. Reliance on illiterate cadres has led to many difficulties, to miscarriage of plans and policies, and to abuses of power and authority. The Communists, therefore, are keenly aware of the fact that, while selected cadres are given technical training on the secondary and the higher level, education for the majority of the cadres must begin with literacy education at the lowest level.

Moreover, the proletarian revolution requires that the workers and peasants must be given a rudimentary education. They constitute the masses to whom the new regime is constantly directing its propaganda and appealing for popular support. It would be easier to "arouse their political consciousness" if they could be taught to read and write. From among them are to be selected the cadres

and the trustworthy workers to lead in political activities and production work.

The ordinary elementary schools are considered inadequate to meet this need for adult education. Special adult classes must be organised to spread literacy among the workers and peasants within the shortest time. Short-cuts are again considered important. Just as the regular middle schools for youth are paralleled by the short-term middle schools for adults, so on the elementary level the schools for children are paralleled by short term elementary schools, which enable adults to cover the content of elementary education in two to five years of part-time study. Thus adults are permitted to climb the educational ladder and advance into higher education in approximately half the time required for children and youth.

To enable workers and peasants to attend classes without too much interference with their productive activities, the government formulated a plan of "spare-time" education. In June 1, 1950, the government issued a directive on the promotion of the spare-time education of workers. It ordered local governments to co-operate with factories and business enterprises to make specific plans for a systematic literacy movement among the workers. It set forth the goal of eliminating illiteracy in three to five years by teaching all workers to know about a thousand characters and to read books and newspapers

written in simple language. Besides literacy, the programme is to emphasize political education and technical education in order to increase the political consciousness and the productive ability of the workers. In March 1, 1951, the government issued further regulations concerning the detail of class organisation and curricula. The regulations provide for classes on three different levels. On the basis of at least six hours of instruction each week and not less than 240 hours each year, the primary and the intermediate courses are to be two years in length while the length of the advanced course is to be five years. It is emphasized that such systematic study is to be carried on without interference with the efficiency of production.

It is hard to judge the actual success of the plan because there is no way of checking the accuracy of official statistics. According to official reports, 789,262 workers were enrolled in spare-time classes in the factories and productive enterprises of the country in September, 1950, but by the end of the year the number of students had increased to 1,004,736, constituting 8.66 per cent of the total number of 11,592,005 workers.

Spare-time education is also promoted in the rural areas. On December 15, 1950, the government issued a directive stating that a definite programme of spare-time education for peasants should begin with the cadres and the

"positive elements" of the rural population and gradually expand to reach the peasants in general, and that the specific objective should be to teach the rural cadres and positive elements to learn a thousand characters within three to five years. It also emphasized that literacy education should be well integrated with political education, production education, and health education.

Since the peasants are supposed to have more "spare time" in the winter months, a movement was launched to engage in "winter study." The movement got under way in the winter of 1949-1950, when it was reported that more than twelve million people attended reading circles, literacy classes, and various forms of winter schools. The authorities were so pleased with the results that they decided to continue the project every winter and to encourage as many winter schools as possible to be extended to become all-year schools. It was reported that 65.13 of the winter schools of 1949-50 continued to operate in the spring of 1950 and were becoming all-year schools enrolling 3,485,046 peasants; and that the winter schools of 1950-51 enrolled 25 million peasants, of whom more than 11 million later transferred to peasants' spare-time (all-year) schools. A goal of 35 million students was set for the winter of 1951-52, and official spokesmen reported that even the incomplete statistics available in January, 1952 showed that the goal had been actually surpassed.

This brief discussion of worker-peasant education in China is based on the official regulations and decrees of the government and the reports and statistics issued by official spokesmen. Critics may well wonder to what extent the "paper plans" have actually been carried into practice and how much of the glowing reports of official spokesmen may be accepted as reliable. They may also point out that the motive of the Communists in promoting worker-peasant education is not to enlighten the masses but to make them more receptive to propaganda and indoctrination. Be it as it may, even after making full allowance for the hyperbole of official reports and statistics, it still remains true that new educational opportunities are being opened up for many workers and peasants who have hitherto been far beyond the reach of the school system. Moreover, with "cultural networks" providing reading rooms, exhibits, and adult education centres accessible to the masses, and with "propaganda networks" bringing messages of political and national importance to people in the little hamlets and villages as well as the towns and cities, there is little doubt that formal and informal education—with a large measure of propaganda and indoctrination to be sure—are reaching more millions of the common people than at any previous time in China.

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(above): The Bell Tower in the great Emerald Wat at Bangkok

(below): Bangkok from the air (BOAC picture)



Bangkok Sketch

By Lt.-Col. C. H. Stockley

THE million inhabitants of Bangkok would almost be justified in voting the earth is flat, for there can hardly be a flatter city in the world; no natural rise shows above the general dead level of the delta of the wide Menam Chao Phraya, on either side of which the city lies.

Bangkok is not beautiful, and the existence of many muddy canals, which carry much of the merchandise, does not justify the name of the "Venice of the East" which some romanticists have applied to it. It is an upstart city, a mushroom growth of a mere 150 years started by a king who thought, apparently rightly, that the site is a better one than that of the ancient capital of Ayuthia, which lies 60 miles upriver. He uprooted the capital, its court and most of its people, taking them almost as a unit to the present Bangkok, where he set them to building 16 miles from the sea at a point where small steamers of about 1,000 tons find the water too shallow to go higher. Larger steamers unload at the bar and their cargoes come to the city by train or lighter. The river brings down the city's supplies, and nearly all the rice and timber which are the main source of Siam's wealth.

The architecture of Bangkok is on the whole not particularly striking, with the exception of the great Wat. Whitewash, coloured glass, mural paintings and graceful yet flimsy buildings set off by green palm trees go to make the strange yet beautiful agglomeration which is the great "Wat of the Emerald Buddha," and is eminently significant of an easy-going, colour-loving people, who have hardly any set purpose in life, but merely want to be left in peace to live in their own way with the least amount of trouble.

On coming to the main gate three great pagodas tower on its right, of which the nearest and plainest is the pagoda of the holy books. Every one of the many buildings inside the main courtyard is highly ornamented and many-roofed, the gables in long crooked horns to prevent devils from settling on them.

Outstanding among these groups of buildings is a lovely bell-tower, and only on lowering one's gaze does one notice the pleasantly coloured mural designs of the courtyard walls, or the frescos in the gallery behind one, the latter depicting the various delights of court life.

No two of the many buildings are of the same design, and wandering through the Wat one comes ever in sight of something new, extravagant and strange: giant figures in armour, little images with bowed heads or birds and beasts of outlandish and highly unnatural shapes.



DRAGON ROBES

By

Bissett Lovelock

A late Dragon Robe

TO look at a Chinese dragon robe is to look at a picture of the universe—a philosophical Chinese universe—that springs from the time of the flat earth, surrounding water, and the limitless heavens.

At the bottom of the robe, deep water is represented by a band of many coloured diagonal stripes. Over these stripes roll vast waves and against the insignificant pinnacles of land (the triangles of coloured stripes at the sides and centre front and back of the robe) the waters break in a fury of spray. Above the water but below the waves, is a thin line of mist and over all is the sky peopled with dragons and floating cloud forms. The dragons (there are three front and back and one on each shoulder) are chasing or have already caught the magic jewel. And if this is a late robe the background is filled with lucky omens, Precious Things and happy symbols, and especially with the twelve ancient attributes of Majesty.

These twelve symbols are as old as China herself. Confucius referred to them as the "symbols of the ancients" and the Chinese Kings are said to have worn them since the days of the legendary Yao.

On the shoulders of a dragon robe are embroidered two discs, one red, one pale yellow, the one containing a cock and the other a hare pounding something in a mortar, with a very long-handled pestle. On the back under the collar is a mound of rock and balancing it in front, three tiny blue circles joined by lines. Two very mysterious symbols are on the bottom right hem of the gown. They are two cups, each painted with a striped animal which sits upright like a monkey and has a forked tail. Opposite this in front are green leaves in a square. At the back, matching, is a circle of small dots and a square of waving red tentacles. A pheasant and pair of tiny dragons on the back and an axe and a calligraphic character on the breast complete the twelve symbols.

The only Chinese explanation is official and much too sycophantic to be easily acceptable. This was Yang Ch'ung's version, in which every symbol expatiates in some way on the wisdom, kindness and other super-human attributes of the reigning monarch, from the first (the Sun, symbolising "the light of the good and wise king, shining upon the world") to the last, the *fu* character which symbolised the working together of the prince and his ministers. A more objective explanation is that the symbols are intended to complete the picture of the universe shown on the robe. It is true that the pattern of the robe is supposedly new whilst the twelve symbols are definitely ancient. But although the pattern of the dragon robe is said to have been inflicted on the conquered Chinese by the Manchus in the 17th Century, it is not unlikely that the pattern is in accordance with Chinese tradition.

In this case the circular discs on the shoulders represent the sun and moon and the stars are indicated by the three joined circles. The Chinese had long had a passion for astronomy though their interest was astrological rather than scientific. The mound of rock represents the earth and the dragons and the bird, bird and animal life. There are innumerable explanations for every Chinese dragon and it is quite possible that the pair on the robes represent the elusive *yin* and *yang*. This is a typically Chinese concept and is variously rendered, without complete accuracy, as the positive, negative or the male-female reagency. It is subtle and involved; in any case dragons do represent animal life—among numerous other things.

Now we have the five elements popular among alchemists of the Western as well as the Eastern world. These are earth (which we have already in the rock), water, indicated by the leaves which are those of a water plant, fire (the tentacles of flame), metal, shown by the cups (an explanation which leaves the two strange animals on them severely alone) and living matter. The

last named is the circle with a dotted pattern and which represents a bowl of rice seed upon which all life depends. The final two symbols are indicative of the Emperor as giving and enforcing the law—the axe being of course the time-honoured way of enforcing most of the Chinese law.

If all these symbols are found on one robe it is almost certainly the robe of an emperor, although occasionally permission has been granted for the symbols to be worn by a subject as a mark of esteem. Robes are also known with four symbols and with six, in the latter case there is an extra symbol added in the shape of a four-star constellation. Nobody knows with certainty what these robes were for, nor who was entitled to wear them, though from the colour they appear to have been reserved for the Emperor's family.

If we trace the history of these robes backwards from the time of Tao Kuang in the 19th Century we see that they improve in colour, design and technique. The colours become brighter and less gaudy. The balance of the robe improves, the drawing becomes finer and the long stripes at the bottom get shorter and shorter, until the robes of the Ch'ien Lung period are the product of art rather than tailoring.

The story of the dragon robe is a succession of puzzles. Firstly the colour. Bright yellow we are told was the prerogative of the Emperor (though we know it was used by his harem), golden yellow that of the Imperial family and robes in green, purple and mauve are illustrated in 19th Century drawings. This makes it very surprising that the surviving robes are nearly all golden yellow (and these have nearly all the twelve symbols of Majesty) and those that are not are either a bright apricot or blue embroidered in white. It is now known that the golden yellow robes are actually the bright yellow ones specified for Imperial use. And the golden yellow of the imperial clan is represented by what we call apricot. This leaves the white and blue robes which may have had a religious significance and nothing but a query as to what has happened to the other colours, if there were any, and if not, what robes were worn by the lower grades of mandarin (the poorer could not perhaps afford dragon robes but those that could are unlikely to have worn the yellow or the apricot).

There are special types of dragon robe which must have served special purposes. A beautiful yellow robe embroidered with swifits in addition to the normal pattern is something of a puzzle. And what was the precise use of the pine and gate robes with large rocks in the water, pines at the side of the robes and houses standing on the rocks?

When were these dragon robes worn? They are described as festive or semi-formal, contrasting with the Court robes which were used at Court and at the annual Sacrifices. This explanation overlooks the fact that in China sacrifices and feasts were very much the same thing. There is also a distinctive "everyday" costume, which makes the division into formal, semi-formal and informal somewhat elaborate. It is very rare to see a dragon robe worn on its own in any Chinese picture or portrait; in practically every known case the dragon robe is shown as worn beneath the *p'u-fu* or surcoat, the garment on which all Chinese officials wore their insignia.

Women's robes were similar to their husbands' (the animal of the insignia faced in the opposite direction in order that the pair might be facing each other when the human pair stood side by side) but you can always distinguish the feminine dragon robes by the fact that there is no split in the front and back of the hem. This was for greater convenience in riding and women, of course, did not ride astride.

The feminine Court robe is a dragon robe with added embroidered epaulettes or a long sleeveless "waistcoat" form of the man's robe. The masculine Court robe is like a dragon robe cut away at the waist and supplied with a wide pleated skirt. The dragon robe's universe pattern moves up on to the upper robe where it forms a large circle covering shoulders and waist. And the lower robe is ornamented with small dragon roundels and walking dragons round the hem.

The pleated Court robe tells a chapter of Chinese history. During the Ming Dynasty Chinese robes were highly prized in the surrounding territories. The demand was always greater than the supply; so much so that the neighbouring tribes were in the habit of increasing their supplies by means of armed raids across the border. In the late Ming days the Moslems in the South were so persistent that the help of northern neighbours, the Manchus, was sought to repel them. This the Manchus did successfully and then refused to leave, finally conquering and subjecting the country.

Among other innovations, they introduced their own Court robes. These were actually the old Ming robes adapted to the needs of a hard-riding race. To do this they had to narrow the vast Ming sleeves, cut away the flower section of the gown and add a loose pleated kilt. The revised Court costume held sway (with the pigtail, another Manchu indignity) until the fall of the dynasty in 1911.

An "undress" Robe



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ECONOMIC SECTION

The Education of the Ryots

By Sir Alfred Chatterton

PRESIDED over by Mr. Fazlur Rahman, the Pakistan Minister for Economic Affairs, a meeting of the Consultative Committee of the Colombo Plan was held in Karachi from the 24th to the 28th March. In his closing speech the President remarked:

"It was right that the first attack on the problems of South and South East Asia should have been directed to harnessing the resources of nature. In the plans accepted there were some traces of efforts to raise and expand the standard of education and improve the health of the people. But the attention so far paid to this aspect of national development had been so disproportionately low that I am unable to dispel a feeling that we are proceeding rapidly with a magnificent superstructure on weak and inadequate foundations."

This expression of opinion seems to be extremely timely and is in accord with the views I have from time to time put forward in this Journal regarding the measures which should be adopted to reduce the inefficiency of Indian agricultural methods by bringing to the notice of the ryot the reforms that are necessary to increase the productivity of the soil which he cultivates. It is the landowners and land workers of today who require education, and that of a special kind, to meet the existing situation. The evils of fragmentation should be brought home to them, the demonstration of improved results should be made on their own fields and not in specially equipped farms involving an expenditure far beyond their resources to imitate. Means should be devised, if indeed they do not already exist and can be expanded on a vast scale, to enable them to procure good seed and adequate supplies of fertilisers suited to the crops they grow and the soil they cultivate. This I assume is the type of education which Mr. Rahman would like to see fostered and not the multiplication of primary schools, which can only produce results in ten or more years ahead.

It is most urgently necessary that the cultivator upon whom the production of food ultimately depends should be instructed as to the growing shortage of world food and the part he must play to remedy the situation. This year it is estimated that India will have

to import five million tons of grain, and what the deficiency will amount to in the future depends upon the monsoon, the success of the efforts to increase the area under cultivation and the yield of the crops. Already in the Madras Presidency severe famine conditions prevail. The inevitable loss of cattle and the emaciated condition of the people will not favour a vigorous effort to improve the situation and take advantage of better seasonal prospects if such should occur.

The very large projects which have been embarked upon to develop the industrial resources of the country are long term plans which will not greatly contribute to the immediate necessities. They will all have their teething troubles and it may well be years before the anticipations with which they have been started are fully realised. India needs more food most urgently and ultimately the production of that food rests with the many millions engaged on tilling the soil. It is only common sense that the main efforts of the Government should be directed to removing the age-long difficulties under which they have worked and to providing facilities and finance to enable them to take full advantage of the assistance which is being generously provided by the Colombo Plan.



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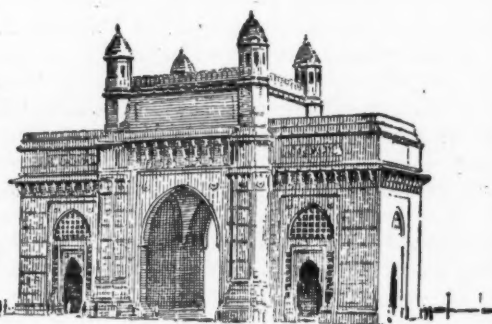
The authorities in India have for some years fully recognised the parlous economic situation of the country. They have initiated a number of schemes involving the outlay of vast sums of money with the object of creating a very material rise in the standard of living of the people. However, the course of international events and political issues have not favoured their plans, and to some extent it is now evident that they have been over optimistic regarding the results that will accrue. This is apparent in a Supplement to *The Statesman* (Calcutta) published on the 3rd March describing the chemical factory which has been erected at Sindri during the past five years at a cost of 23 crores of rupees to make 350,000 tons of sulphate of ammonia per annum. That India can make very good use of all this sulphate of ammonia there is not the least doubt, but there is an extremely meagre supply of information regarding the methods to be employed to get it into the hands of the ryots and distributed over the land. It is stated that production started on the 30th October, 1951, and that by the beginning of March it had reached about one-third of the designed output, and that by the middle of the year the plant would be working at full capacity. The Supplement presents a confused picture of what is going on at Sindri and all that can be gathered from it is that a great factory has been built embodying the latest advances in chemical industry. The

organisation to create it must have been very efficient and bodes well for its ultimate success as a substantial contribution to the supply of fertilisers. It is to be regretted that no information even of an approximate nature has been furnished as to the cost of manufacture or the actual price which has been charged for the not inconsiderable quantity which must have already been placed on the market. The whole project has been financed by the Government of India without any assistance from foreign sources and the future of this great enterprise is of world wide interest, especially to the contributors to the Colombo plan.

I would conclude this brief article by expressing the hope that it will prove to be the precursor of a series of carefully prepared reports on the many projects now being carried out in India to solve the food problem and provide as far as possible for the utilisation of her natural resources, and above all for making use of her superabundant supply of labour, at present untrained but capable of becoming a valuable asset in future industrial activities. India and Pakistan owe it to the promoters of the Colombo Plan and the donors of the funds by which it is being implemented that they should be accurately informed at reasonable intervals with the results of expenditure incurred and of the prospects of success in these great efforts to raise the living standards of so large a proportion of the human race.

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United States Financial Assistance to the Far East

By Arthur C. Bunce (U.S. Federal Reserve Board)

THE United States has made financial assistance available to many countries of the Far East through several agencies of the Government; a brief background of these agencies may help in understanding why such diversity exists.

1. THE EXPORT-IMPORT BANK

The Export-Import Bank was founded in 1933 to stimulate United States foreign trade and its charter was broadened in 1945. In addition to its normal functions of extending foreign loans, the Bank also administers certain loans extended by other agencies, such as the Economic Administration; and special loans approved by Congress, such as the wheat loan to India.

Loans are advanced by the Bank after a detailed study of the request has been made and the project approved by the Board of Directors. The following table lists the recent loans to countries in the Far East:

TABLE I.

United States Government Loans in the Far East, 1949 to January 1952

Country and Date of Loan	Commodity or Purpose	Amount
Afghanistan:		
11-23-49	Materials, Equipment, and Service for Dam and Canal Construction	\$21,000,000
Indonesia:		
2-8-50	Unallotted	\$24,984,500
7-27-50	Auto and Road Building Equipment	32,100,000
9-21-50	Tele-communication	260,000
10-19-50	Harbour Development	6,700,000
11-3-50	Railroads	17,100,000
11-30-50	Aviation	6,085,500
1-25-51	Electric Power	8,300,000
7-26-51	Forestry and Lumbering	2,650,000
3-6-52	Marine Engines for Coastal Fleet	1,820,000
Total		\$100,000,000
Japan:		
11-15-51	Cotton	\$40,000,000
Philippine Islands:		
7-13-49	Lumber Mill	\$ 250,000
1-31-52	Power	20,000,000
Total		\$20,250,000
Siam:		
8-16-51	Purchase of Chinese Coastal Vessels	\$ 1,071,340
India:		
6-15-51	Wheat	\$190,000,000
Far East Total		\$372,321,340

2. THE POINT FOUR PROGRAMME

The Point Four Programme was announced by President Truman in January, 1949, and was established on a world wide basis by the Act for International Development signed on June 5, 1950. This was not a brand new concept or activity, but a broadening and expansion of an act passed in 1938 which authorised the lending of technical experts to the governments of other American Republics, the Philippines, and Liberia. The act of 1950 consolidated approximately 100 technical aid projects in the new Technical Co-operation Administration operating as part of the Department of State.

The basic objective of the Technical Co-operation Administration is to assist other countries to help themselves by making available to them the technical skills developed in the United States. By this means it is hoped that the level of the people may advance more rapidly than would occur if this assistance were not available.

The funds and projects being developed in India and Pakistan for the current fiscal year ending June 30, 1952, are shown in Table II. In addition, technical assistance is being extended to other countries of the Far East through the Mutual Security Administration, formerly the Economic Co-operation Administration

TABLE II.
Point Four Tentative Programmes
in India and Pakistan by Major Projects
Fiscal Year 1952

Major Project Category		(Thousands of Dollars)	
		India	Pakistan
Agriculture, Forestry, and Fisheries	...	29,766	3,677
Public Health	...	3,453	822
Education	...	602	—
Natural Resources, Public Works and Transportation	...	9,099	3,149
Economic Surveys	...	950	130
Industry and Handicrafts	...	9,983	3,000
Public Administration	...	509	—
TOTAL		54,565	10,778

In India the major emphasis is on agriculture in order to meet the serious food shortage. Thirteen million dollars is to develop some 2,000 tube wells, 10.6 million is for fertilizer, 9 million is for irrigation and 8 million is for the production of farm implements. Thus, over 40 million dollars is actually directed at food production.

In addition to India and Pakistan, Ceylon, Afghanistan, and Nepal have received small amounts of aid in agriculture and mining amounting to less than half a million dollars, so that the total Point IV funds for fiscal year 1952 in South Asia amount to 65.8 million dollars.

3. MUTUAL SECURITY ADMINISTRATION

The Mutual Security Administration replaced the Economic Co-operation Administration, which was originally established to assist Europe overcome the serious dollar shortage during the period of rebuilding industry and trade. Economic aid to China was made available through separate legislation and when the Chinese Nationalist Government moved to Formosa the balance of the China Aid programme not required in Formosa was made available to E.C.A. for "the general area of China." These funds formed the basis upon which E.C.A. initiated its economic assistance programme in South East Asia. Since this initial beginning funds have been appropriated each year to continue the programme.

Essentially, the MSA programmes in Asia, operated through "Special Technical and Economic Missions" (STEM), are very similar in objective and programme to the Point IV technical assistance programmes being operated by the Department of State. The basis objective is to improve the living conditions of people through technical assistance and specific dollar grants for special projects. Emphasis is placed upon health programmes, agricultural production, public utilities and programmes having an immediate impact on the welfare of the people. One general

purpose has been to help the new governments win the support of the people through their ability to enhance the general welfare of the masses. The amount of funds for economic assistance authorized by MSA (ECA) for fiscal year 1952 and the tentative allocations by major projects is given in Table III.

TABLE III.
MSA Tentative Programme for the Far East
(By Country and Major Projects)
Fiscal Year 1952

Major Project Category	All SEA Countries	Philippines	Indo-China	Burma	Indonesia	Siam
Emergency						
Relief ...	1,200	—	—	1,200	—	—
Public Health	17,500	1,120	2,250	4,920	3,750	2,600
Agriculture, Forestry, Fisheries ...	21,840	1,250	10,050	2,190	2,800	3,240
Transportation, Power, Other Public Works ...	16,235	8,090	2,350	2,585	2,550	410
Handicraft and Manufacturing, Mining, Other Industry ...	5,325	2,320	450	405	1,000	500
General Engineering Advisory services ...	2,050	800	—	—	700	550
Education ...	3,580	50	500	400	1,400	300
Public Administration	1,088	180	500	—	—	400
Maintenance of Essential Supply ...	97,883	67,190	15,900	12,993	1,800	—
Total Dollar Cost of Programme	166,693	81,000	32,000	24,693	14,000	8,000

4. MILITARY AID

In addition to economic aid the United States is extending military assistance to Formosa, the Associated States of Indo-China, Siam, and the Philippines. In these countries Military Assistance Advisory Groups have been established in addition to the Special Technical and Economic Missions. The military advisory groups assist in the training of local forces and the funds available are used to supply the defence forces with modern equipment and supplies. The total funds appropriated for military assistance in the Far East for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1952, amounted to \$535,250,000.

5. OPERATIONS IN THE FIELD

In administering the economic aid programmes abroad three basic policies are followed.

(1). Each country is asked to negotiate a mutually satisfactory aid agreement as a basis for co-operative action. Where aid is to be granted to further military efforts, Public Law 165 states that the recipient country must agree to contribute fully to its own defensive strength and the strength of the free world. Where purely economic aid is granted the law requires the recipient country to agree to promote international under-

standing, world peace and to assist in eliminating causes of international tension. Public Law 213 of 1951 also requires recipients of aid to refrain from shipping arms and strategic materials to Russia and the satellite countries, and reflects the feeling in Congress that the United States should not aid countries aiding a potential enemy. However, this provision is subject to review and interpretation in terms of the specific trade involved.

(2). Each project is worked out in detail by the representatives of the government with the American members of the aid mission and a formal request for financing the dollar costs is made by the government and approved by the mission.

(3). Each project is considered not only on its own merits, but also as a part of the total United States aid programme and in connection with all other development projects being undertaken within the country.

In the case of Siam for example, United Nations agencies and the World Bank have extensive programmes and co-ordination was obtained through a series of subcommittees which included representatives of all agencies having a programme in a given field. In the medical field the World Health Organisation and the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund were represented, and there was real co-ordination and joint planning in a very practical way. It is only in the field that such co-ordination can effectively take place through some such system as that developed in Siam.

In all United States aid programmes the co-operating country is required to pay local currency costs. In the case of MSA, counterpart deposits are required for most goods imported with aid funds. These funds then may be used by the government for local currency costs of development programmes or other purposes as approved by the United States. In general, it is

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required that the availability of local funds be shown in each project application so that the programme will go ahead smoothly and without delay. This necessitates over-all consideration of the economy and the ability of the country to meet the local costs without inducing inflationary pressures.

In summary, it may be said that United States economic aid is based on requests of the recipient government; and that it complements rather than competes with other programmes, such as those developed by the World Bank, the United Nations agencies, and the Colombo Plan. As for special assurances required by the United States, these consist of assurances that local costs will be financed, that the objectives of the United Nations will be upheld, and that the country will not give economic support to potential enemies.

The current grant assistance for fiscal year 1952 in the Far East may be summarized as follows:—

	Million Dollars
For technical assistance and economic development:	
MSA Budget, July 1, 1951 to June 30, 1952 ...	166.7
TCA Budget, July 1, 1951 to June 30, 1952 ...	65.8
For Military assistance:	
Budget for July 1, 1951 to June 30, 1952 ...	535.2
Total Grant Aid	767.7

In addition to grant aid, loans extended since 1949 amount to 372.3 million dollars.

Throughout most countries in the Far East there remains antagonism and resentment against "white" people. The colonial system that gave rise to these feelings has been replaced

by national states, but the new leaders remember the frustrations and indignities of the past. We face, therefore, a dual task in the world today; not only must we assist the countries of the Far East to fill the vacuum created by independence in terms of technical and managerial skills, but we must also demonstrate a sense of equality and friendship. It is for that reason that many United States aid programmes extend into the country villages and make direct contact with the people. It is this aspect above all which distinguishes the economic aid programmes in the Far East from Europe; and, to my mind, makes the programme even more essential in the long run. We must demonstrate that people of the free world are people of good will and that friendship with the United States as part of the free world will be in their long run as well as short run interests, not only materially but also in terms of human dignity and equality.

Apart from the political and moral urge to assist the independent nations of the Far East, there are sound economic reasons also. Experience has shown that increased productivity leads to greater consumption and an expansion of world trade. Unless the terms are to worsen for industrial nations as food production for a growing population removes more and more land from non-food crops, agricultural production must be vastly increased and the pressure of population abated as the people respond to education and new cultural opportunities.

It seems to me that we are moving inevitably to world unity, and progress can be smooth only as we co-operate to alleviate the extreme poverty existing in some areas of the world. It is this long run objective that must be kept before us because it is the unifying objective that dominates the new nationalism of the Far East.

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THE HISS OF DEFLATED RUBBER

By Andrew Roth

THE natural rubber market is collapsing like a punctured inner tube. To some unofficial experts, who consider rubber prices indicative of international tension, this is a peaceful augury. But to Treasury, Colonial Office and Foreign Office experts the deflation of rubber is highly dangerous.

The price of natural rubber was 24 pence a pound before the outbreak of the Korean War, and gradually expanded until it reached its peak of 73 pence in February 1951, in the wake of the Chinese offensive and the MacArthurian agitation to extend the war to mainland China—with all that agitation's incalculable consequences. A prominent London rubber broker pointed out at the time: "The great premiums that we have been paid on spot or near (i.e., immediate or early delivery) rubber, as against rubber for forward delivery, are not healthy signs and are really an open avowal of fears for the future of Malaya and the Far East." These prices started coming down in April 1951 due partly to American buying tactics but also largely to the realization that it was "only" going to be a localized war. The fact that rubber is down to pre-Korean levels reflects the relaxation of tension. The

economic threat that peace may "break out" moved Cyril Osborne, a Conservative economist and M.P. to write to *The Times* on May 5th: "Peace in Korea could bring absolute chaos to the economy of the western world . . ."

Natural rubber is the sterling area's best dollar earner. Malayan rubber alone customarily earns more American dollars than all the exports of Britain's factories together. Thus Malaya, which produces 90 per cent of the sterling area's rubber, is known as its "dollar cushion."

Unfortunately for those who try to plan the area's economic activities, this "cushion" has a rather unpredictable way of inflating and deflating. It has been estimated that for every U.S. cent rubber prices rise or fall the sterling area gains or loses U.S. \$13 millions, over the space of a year. For instance the drop in rubber prices together with the loss of Persian oil chiefly explain the sterling area's sudden shift from a dollar surplus of \$414 millions in the first half of 1951 to a deficit of \$1,578 millions in the second half.

This rubber slump not only affects Britain as the banker of the sterling area, but it also impairs Britain's ability to pay her own way. The flow of profits from Malayan estates or British-owned estates in Indonesia is tapering off, reducing Britain's overseas earnings. The slump also tends to dry up her export markets. As Prof. F. Lewis pointed out in *The Observer* (April 20) such "slumps always aggravate" Britain's "balance of payments problems . . . what always happens is that as the sellers of these products get poorer they cut their purchases from us by an amount larger than the fall in the cost of our imports. Our balance of payments improves in a boom, when prices are rising and so also does the dollar balance of the sterling area as a whole." In short, when rubber is high the Malayan smallholder not only earns more dollars for the Commonwealth but also buys more British bicycles.

The long trail of disasters in the wake of falling rubber prices has caused British Treasury experts to seek for stability in rubber marketing. At the Ottawa International Rubber Study Group Conference the British delegation (with Malayan and Indonesian support) tried unsuccessfully to persuade the U.S. to agree to long-term purchasing agreements at "fair" prices. "This country's exports are so sensitive to changes in commodity prices that we have a large interest in efforts to keep international purchasing power stable," emphasized Prof. Lewis. "We cannot hope to have stability at home unless something is done to stabilize world trade."

As the rubber slump intensifies it is feared that it will affect the drive to mop up the Communist insurrection in

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Malaya. This drive, it is felt, is just beginning to make headway under the vigorous leadership of General Templer. Only the annual export of 600,000 tons of rubber at adequate prices prevents the Malayan conflict from being the sort of drain on Britain that the Indo-China war is on France. Mr. Churchill has estimated that the Malayan war costs upwards of £50 millions annually. Britain pays the operational cost of its armed forces and makes certain additional contributions. But the Federation government pays about half the reported cost of operations. And the rubber companies expend a considerable amount on private protection.

A drop in rubber prices would impair the ability of all three to bear the burden of the Malayan war. Almost half of the Malayan Federation's revenues in 1951 came from export and other duties levied directly on rubber. If, as seems likely, rubber prices average half as much this year as last, there will be an almost automatic loss of 25 per cent of government revenue. Similarly the contraction of markets in rubber-growing areas like Malaya, Indonesia and Ceylon will hit Britain's overseas earning capacity and make it difficult for her to continue the heavy expenditure involved. The rubber companies, which are able to spend sizeable amounts on arms, security officers, barbed wire and the like during a period of lush profits, can scarcely afford such expenses when sales prices approach costs.

Sagging prices not only impair the fight against Communism but may help the Malayan Communists to break out of their present narrow and isolated position. It costs many of the Malayan rubber estates about two shillings to produce a pound of rubber under present conditions, and by May 9 rubber prices had dropped to 2s. 3d. Since labour accounts for 70 per cent of the cost of rubber production, some estate managers are hoping to cut wages. But the cost of living has not come down, largely because the chief item—rice—has stayed high. Malaya has to import half its rice and since this remains in short supply the chief exporters—Siam and Burma—keep their prices high. Some of the biggest estates realize that a battle with their labourers to reduce wages may destroy the influence of the present "moderate" estate worker's leaders and open the way for Communists to back up economic conflicts with their military forces. To cut costs without battling with labour some British companies have been selling their less profitable estates to local interests.

It is significant that Malaya's rubber production has declined from its peak of over 700,000 tons to 600,000 tons last year and is expected to reach 600,000 tons this year. The excuse usually given is the harassment of Communist guerillas. But Sir John Hay rather gave the show away in the recent report of Malacca Rubber Plantations when he pointed out that even on the estate which was not bothered at all by Communists, production fell by nine per cent.

The basic reason for the decrease in Malayan production is the growing obsolescence of the bulk of Malaya's rubber trees. New high-yield budded stock just coming into top production can produce 1,500 lbs. an acre. But the majority of the estates—which have not replanted with new stock—average only 350 lbs. an acre. Even this figure is dropping as the trees grow older. Over a year ago the chairman of London's Rubber Trade Association warned: "Unless replanting in Malaya is undertaken soon and on a very large scale, especially among native holders, the present production of 700,000 tons can hardly be improved upon." His prediction proved correct as production declined by 100,000 tons last year. But replanting has slowed down. During 1951 there were complaints by the companies that it was too expensive because of inflated costs. This year there are complaints that it is not worthwhile to replant. It takes seven years for a rubber tree to mature and few would care to predict who will control Malaya in seven years—or how much synthetic rubber the U.S. will be producing and at what price.

The rubber slump is going to result in Britain's being pulled in two directions. It is increasing Britain's own economic dependence on the U.S. while at the same time it is pushing the rubber-producing areas towards a form of "third way" neutrality.

The natural rubber trade has long been a symbol of the intimate economic ties between the sterling area and the U.S. Rubber has been a mainstay of the triangular traffic: South Asia sends raw materials, including rubber, to the U.S.—the U.S. sends food, cotton and tobacco to Britain—Britain sends textiles and other manufactures to South Asia.

Since the U.S. has customarily consumed half of the world's rubber and the Commonwealth (mainly Malaya) produced half the world's natural rubber, rubber (with tin) became Britain's chief bargaining counter in relations with the U.S. It was partly this sense of rubber as a buttress for the Commonwealth's economic independence that made Britain resist for so long the American insistence that rubber should be cut off from the Communist world. The British knew that if they gave up that market completely they would have to take whatever price the U.S. deigned to give. Although they gave in a little, limiting shipments to China and the Soviet Union to "normal" needs, Britain retained an important bargaining weapon at the beginning of last year when natural rubber was high and in demand.

This last year the situation has changed drastically. The United States has built up an efficient low cost synthetic rubber industry turning out 800,000 tons of general purpose synthetic at about 25 per cent less than the commercial cost of natural rubber. Furthermore it has a stockpile of about 800,000 tons of natural rubber. It is already in the position where, if necessary, it could do without Asia's natural rubber for a period of five years.

The U.S. has used its newly-strengthened position to

attempt to bend the natural rubber industry to its will. It was American panic buying, emulated by others, that tripled the price of rubber. Then, about the end of March 1951, the U.S., no longer fearful of an immediate general war, became resentful of the natural rubber "price-gougers." By expanding synthetic production, limiting the use of natural rubber in the U.S. and restraining its purchases, the U.S.—helped by the general relaxation of war fear—has brought the price down to its present level. Furthermore it is now buying only top grades of rubber—which store better. When packers send lower grades than contracted for, the U.S. now refuses to accept it, instead of paying a lower price as before. Although producers have protested about these "injustices" they have little logical ground to stand on because they have always insisted that prices be determined by supply and demand and at present the U.S. has limited its demand for natural because of its substantial synthetic production and its almost-complete stockpile.

Producers of natural rubber are reduced to two stratagems. The first is to insist that the U.S. pays a "fair price" because it is the only way to keep South-East Asian economic conditions from deteriorating, thus opening the gate to Communism. The other is to threaten or to seek to sell increased amounts of rubber to the Communist world.

The independent countries of South-East Asia have tended to favour increased sales to the Communist bloc as a way of getting rid of the estimated 300,000 tons of surplus natural rubber. It was Ceylon's late Prime Minister, D. S. Senanake, who led the way in this direction. Although extremely pro-Eastern and anti-Communist, he was very much a representative of Ceylonese planting interests. And when the U.N.—to which Ceylon has not yet been admitted—put an embargo on rubber to China, Senanayake deliberately flouted it. Today, Indonesia, with large amounts of low-grade rubber unsold, is particularly receptive to Moscow's economic overtures, as expressed at the Moscow Economic Conference. The Russians have been very encouraging, saying they would even be willing to remill Indonesian rubber themselves, thus enabling it to bypass Singapore. The Russians are deliberately vague on tonnages and prices but they have said enough to whet Indonesian appetites and those of other overstocked producers.

Britain's dilemma is that she would like, for strictly economic reasons, to increase her shipments to the Communists but does not dare endanger her alliance with the U.S. The Foreign Office is particularly fearful of doing anything during this election year which will enable Republicans to stigmatize Britain as a "treacherous ally" and thus perhaps increase their chance of winning the elections. It is thus reduced to pleading for fair prices on a long-term stable basis, while hoping that Indonesian efforts to sell rubber to the Russians will frighten the U.S. into granting Britain's requests.

RECENT TRENDS IN INDIA'S FOREIGN TRADE

By K. N. Wahal (New Delhi)

OF the major economic problems confronting the world today, the most intractable and persistent has been the lack of balance between the dollar and the rest of the world. A close study of the changes in post-war international trade will reveal a curious biennial accuracy with which the balance of payments crises have afflicted the economies of the sterling area and other countries. The sterling crisis which developed so suddenly towards the end of the last year has, according to some opinions, its roots in the rhythm with which the United States has increased and then decreased her purchases of goods and materials. The improvement in the terms of trade and the payments position which occurred during the period following the Korean War was short-lived and the economies of most countries are once again experiencing the now familiar difficulty of how to sell more to America.

India being an important member of the sterling area has to design her trade policy in such a way as to meet the requirements of her own economy on the one hand, and to actively help maintain the central reserve of gold and dollars in a healthy state on the other. Thus whereas India enjoys full freedom to shape foreign trade as far as the non-dollar world is concerned, she has to fall in line with the rest of the sterling area in regard to her trade with the United States and other dollar-using countries.

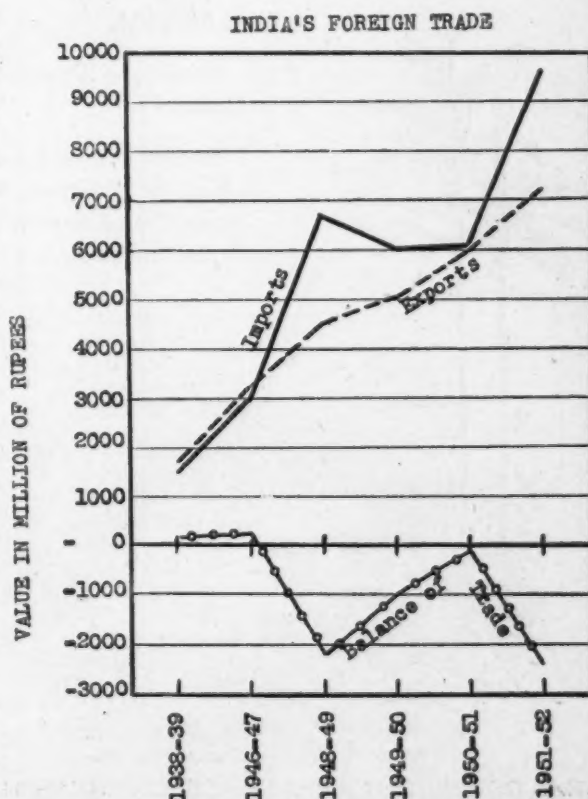
This is the background, in brief, which must be borne in mind while studying the recent trends in India's foreign trade. In addition, the event which, though of relatively limited significance for the world as a whole, has brought about most profound and long-term changes in the pattern of her overseas trade, was the partition of the sub-continent in 1947. Perhaps the most far-reaching effect of the partition was that it suddenly increased to a striking degree India's dependence of foreign raw material, raw cotton, jute and foodgrains, and that it resulted in the loss of a large and growing market for many of her manufactures. Further, the impact of these new factors was felt more directly by foreign trade, for both the jute and cotton industries have in the past few years earned the largest single block of foreign exchange.

Considerable Expansion

India's total trade with the outside world set up a new record at Rs.16,880 million (one rupee=1s. 6d.) in the year ending March 1952, disclosing as much as a four-

fold increase over the pre-war period. The total value of imports in 1951-52 was Rs.9,633 million—compared with Rs.6,079 million in the preceding year and merely Rs.1,524 million in 1938-39. India's exports in 1951-52 were valued at Rs.7,197 million as compared with Rs.5,966 million in the previous year and Rs.1,692 million in 1938-39. Compared to the pre-partition period, imports have increased by Rs.6,633 million from Rs.3,000 million in 1946-47 and exports by Rs.3,965 million from Rs.3,232 million in the same year.

Before the war and until 1946-47, India continuously earned a large surplus on her foreign trade, but the emergence of the two Dominions saw a complete reversal of this favourable position. The deficit on trade accounts was of the order of Rs.2,193 million in 1948-49. During the following two years it was progressively reduced and



stood at Rs.113 million in 1950-51, but soared in the succeeding year to Rs.2,436 million.

Although from the balance of trade point of view 1950-51 was a more favourable year, in the twelve months ending March last both the value of Indian imports and exports have recorded appreciable increases over the preceding year. The increase is more pronounced in respect of imports owing to the liberal import policy followed by the Government in view of the worsening international situation and the need for checking inflationary pressures at home. The improvement in the value of exports from India has, on the other hand, been due to the maintenance of demand for her commodities abroad; perhaps an equally important factor was that, unlike the previous years, the figures for 1951-52 are on an f.o.b. basis and

include the large amounts of export duties realised from commodities sold abroad.

After-effects of War and Partition

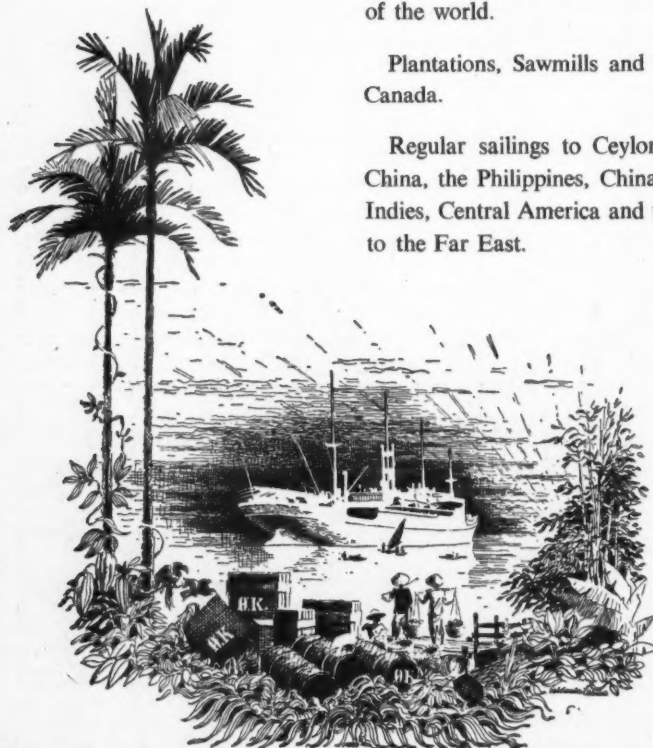
The marked changes brought about by the after-effects of the war and the partition, are fully reflected in the composition and direction of trade. While regarded primarily as an exporter of raw materials and a few semi-manufactured goods as well as a large importer of manufactured articles in the pre-war years, India has emerged from the Second World War as one of the leading exporters of several varieties of manufactured articles. The disappearance of German and Japanese competition and the stimulated development of industries at home, enabled India to gain a firm foothold in many countries

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of the Middle East and Far-East as a supplier of finished goods. With the return of the United Kingdom, Italy, Germany and Japan to international trade, she has to make renewed and vigorous efforts to hold the markets gained during the war. The trade deadlock with Pakistan following the non-devaluation of the Pakistan rupee somewhat limited her export capacity, but subsequently, partly as a result of several governmental measures for promoting and expanding exports and partly due to world events, the level of exports has continued to improve as the figures above have shown.

Composition of Trade

Immediately before the war India's imports consisted of 14 per cent of food, drink and tobacco, 23 per cent of raw materials and 62 per cent of manufactured goods (one per cent of other articles). But during the following ten years, as a consequence of rapid industrialisation and greater dependence on foreign raw materials and food stuffs there occurred notable changes in the composition of Indian imports. In 1951-52, 27 per cent of the total imports were represented by food, etc., 37 per cent by raw materials and 36 per cent by manufactured articles. While India now imports a greater volume of food and raw materials than before the war, a much smaller proportion of manufactured goods finds a market in this country and a major portion of this comprises capital goods and industrial equipment.

As regards exports from India, the percentage shares of the various economic groups were 23, 45 and 30 (2 for other articles) respectively in the two years immediately preceding the war. In 1961-52, Indian exports were made up of 22 per cent of foodstuffs, 19 per cent of raw materials and 58 per cent of manufactured goods (one per cent of other articles). These figures fully reflect the changes that have occurred in the economy of the country since the beginning of the war. India now exports less of raw materials and a considerably larger volume of manufactured articles.

The principal articles which India imports from foreign countries are foodgrains, raw cotton, raw jute, machinery, oils, metals, vehicles, chemicals, paper and other types of manufactures. Jute and cotton goods, tea, spices, vegetable oils, leather, raw cotton, raw wool, tobacco, seeds, gums, fruits, mica and manganese comprise the bulk of Indian exports.

Compared with the pre-war period, the direction of trade has also undergone noteworthy changes. The United Kingdom which provided 30 per cent of India's imports and took 34 per cent of her exports before the war, has gradually lost its prominent position in the country's trade. In 1951-52 only 16 per cent of the total imports were of U.K. origin and only 27 per cent of Indian exports went to that country. During this period, the position of the United States has improved remarkably. That country



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was responsible for 28 per cent of all imports and 17 per cent of all exports in 1951-52 as compared with six per cent and eight per cent respectively in 1938-39. The United States has been supplying to India a larger volume of raw cotton, foodgrains and metals, and has increased her purchases of commodities like jute goods, pepper, mica and manganese in the past few years. Another notable change has been the growth of India's trade with the neighbouring countries in the Far East and Middle East in the post-war period.

Apart from the developments in the world economic situation the trade control policy followed by the Indian Government has played a major role in shaping the pattern of trade. The underlying aim of the Government's policy has been to generally promote the exports of Indian products keeping in view the needs of the domestic market, and to provide for the importation of foodgrains, raw materials, machinery and essential consumer goods not manufactured in the country, to be financed out of her export earnings and releases for sterling balances.

Whilst prior to the war the trade surplus was utilised to meet the sterling expenditure amounting to £28-30 million per annum, India has in post-war years been drawing upon her sterling balances to cover the deficit on the trade account. As a result of these withdrawals, the transfer of Pakistan's share and the payments for British military stores, the sterling assets have been

reduced from Rs.1,460 million at the end of July 1947 to Rs.7,213 million at the beginning of April 1952.

The size, composition and direction of India's overseas trade have undergone profound changes during the last decade and a half. She now relies mainly on manufactured goods for earning the bulk of her foreign exchange, and has now become a heavy importer of raw materials while a much greater proportion of her own production is consumed by her industries.

Future Outlook

The outlook for world trade does not appear to be promising in face of persistent balance of payments difficulties, restrictive practices, controls, etc. The recent fall in international demand and prices for many of India's staple commodities has already had an adverse effect on the volume of exports. The Government has announced a number of measures designed to stimulate exports, including removal and reduction of export duties, liberalisation of export control and the granting of credit facilities. India's own import commitments not only for her current requirements but for her future economic development, are large and pressing and she must, therefore, build a stabilised and expanding level of exports. For the success of the Five Year (now Six Year) Plan will depend largely on her own achievements in the field of exports, as in the ultimate accounting it is by means of exports that imports are paid for.



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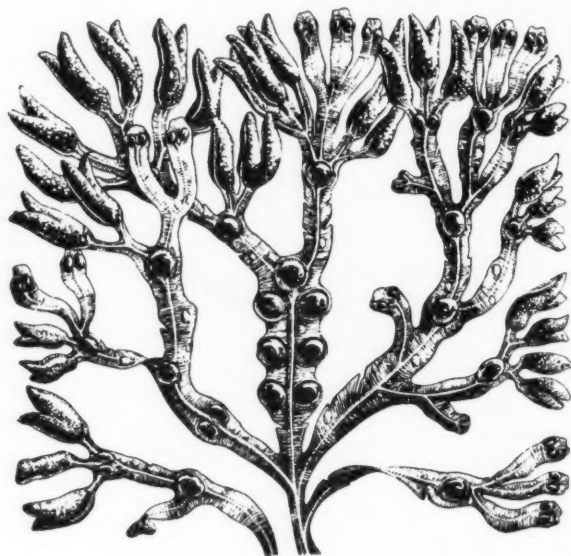
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IODINE

THE element iodine, best-known in the form of the antiseptic solution "tincture of iodine", is found only in combination with other substances. Discovered in 1811, it was later identified as one of the elements by Sir Humphry Davy and by the French scientist Gay-Lussac. Iodine is present in minute quantities in sea-water, and is recovered from kelp, the ash of certain kinds of seaweed. Small but valuable quantities of the element are also obtained from brine wells in America and Java, but by far the greater part of the world's supply is extracted from caliche—a natural form of sodium nitrate found in the

desert region of Northern Chile. Because iodine is essential to health, it is sometimes added, in the form of potassium iodide, to table salt and animal feeding-stuffs. It is widely used as an antiseptic, and in the treatment of thyroid deficiency. Other iodine compounds play an important part in the sensitising of photographic films and plates, and in chemical analysis.

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